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U.S.News & WORLD REPORT

NOVEMBER 24, 2003

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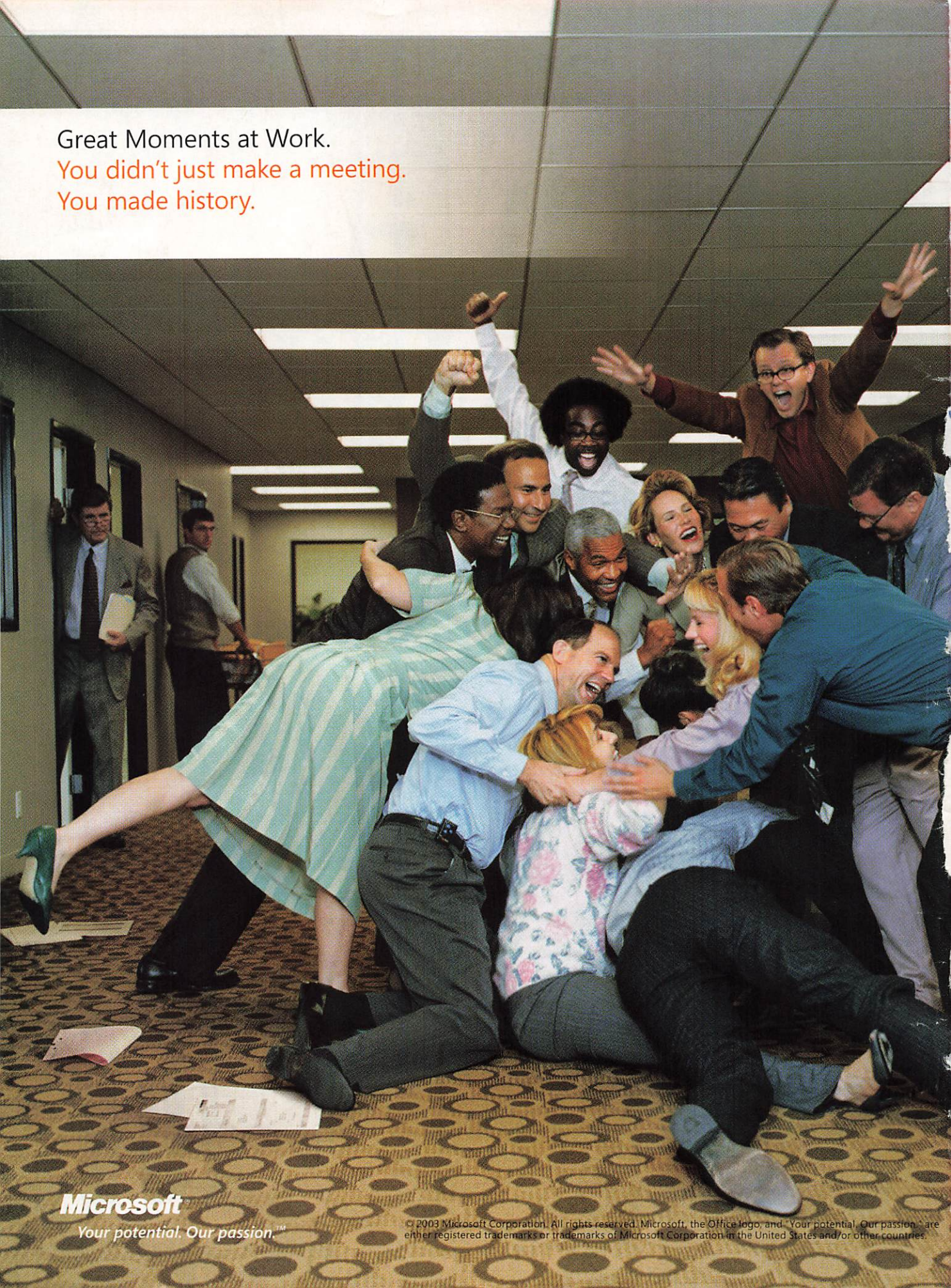
JFK'S FINAL HOURS

A REVEALING NEW MINUTE-BY-MINUTE ACCOUNT OF THE DAY HE WAS KILLED

DALLAS
FRIDAY MORNING
NOV. 22, 1963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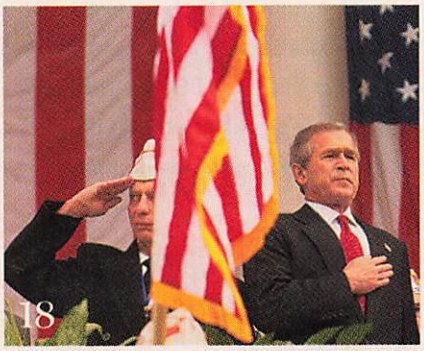

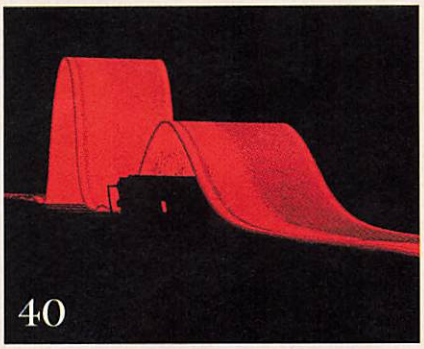

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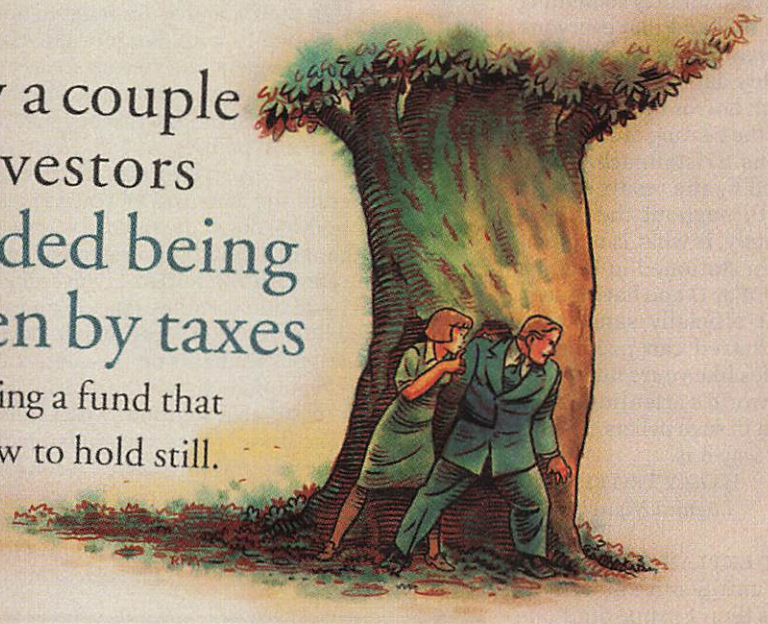
JIM LO SCALZO FOR *USN&WR*; SCOTT GOLDSMITH; AP; JEFFREY MACMILLAN FOR *USN&WR*

How a couple of investors avoided being bitten by taxes

by choosing a fund that knew how to hold still.



When comparing mutual fund tax advantages, how a fund is managed can make a big difference. What should you watch for? A high turnover rate.

Aggressively managed funds that are constantly adjusting their positions turn over a lot. And all that turnover can mean higher taxes.

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REVISITING ANTI-SEMITISM

KUDOS TO MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN and *U.S.News & World Report* for the cover story "The New Anti-Semitism" [November 3]. It is definitely something that needs to be told and that everyone must be made aware of. As one who saw his father forcibly deported to Poland and watched with horror the burning of synagogues and the beating of Jews during the infamous Kristallnacht, I am deeply disturbed by the resurgence of anti-Semitism throughout the world. This, unfortunately, is what is happening. Having been stationed in Dachau following World War II and having seen the horror that officially sanctioned prejudice and hatred can produce, I know that articles like yours must constantly call the world's attention to the dangers inherent in such beliefs. Thanks for telling it the way it is.

HARRY TEITELBAUM
Laguna Niguel, Calif.

ZUCKERMAN'S EXPLANATIONS FOR why the new anti-Semitism afflicts America far less than Europe omit one vital distinction between the New World and the Old. I believe the overriding reason for American philo-Semitism is that Europe is in a post-Christian era, while fervent Christianity flourishes in America. A far greater proportion of citizens in America believe in God, possess a Bible, say grace before eating, and attend church regularly than in any other industrialized nation. As an Orthodox rabbi who has studied Jewish history's ominous habit of repeating itself, I can assure you that America has provided a more tranquil and prosperous haven for Jews than any other country during the past two millenniums. This is not in spite of America's Christian faith; it is because of it. It would be folly for us Jews to forget this. A post-Christian America, God forbid, would be a frightening prospect, not just for Jews but for everyone.

RABBI DANIEL LAPIN
President, Toward Tradition
Seattle

YOUR SIDEBAR "TIES THAT REALLY Bind" correctly states that America is a notable exception to this worldwide hatred of the State of Israel. Our American fairness, however, is in trouble on many of our university campuses. Natan Sharansky, Israel's minister for Jerusalem and Diaspora affairs, recently toured U.S. campuses and found tremendous hostility toward Israel, both in the student bodies and among the professors. He estimates that 90 percent of Jewish students at our universities are "Jews of silence." He is concerned that this bodes ill for the future of U.S. support of Israel.

ALAN M. KOHN
Casselberry, Fla.

AT THE EXTERMINATION CAMP AT Majdanek, there is a memorial that reads thus: "You are standing here in silence; when you leave, do not be silent." We who understand full well the implications of anti-Semitism worldwide, which has reached proportions unparalleled since the period of the Nazis, must not remain silent.

A. BERNARD ACKERMAN, M.D.
New York

AS A CANADIAN, I HAVE SEEN THE anti-Zionism cloak used in the media, in universities, and in the streets. The abject hatred of Arabs toward Jews is on the same level throughout the world. It is important that you stressed the teaching of hate throughout the Arab world. I have been to Israel recently and have seen firsthand how peace-loving Israelis are wilting under the pressure. The worldwide barrage of criticism has had its effect on the people of Israel. Many middle-class Israelis, intellectuals, and educated citizens now tend to place the blame for the "situation" squarely on the shoulders of Ariel Sharon. They say that if he and his hard-line Likudniks were out of the picture, we could make permanent peace with the Arabs.

NATHAN BERGER
Montreal

INTOLERANCE FOR, AND DOUBLE standards held against, ethnic, religious, racial, and sexual minorities with whom we share the planet have no place in the modern world. Until the Jewish state's rightful place among the community of nations is respected by all members of that community, and until singular demonization of Jews becomes a relic of history, it is unlikely that we can hope for a peaceful resolution of the lingering Arab-Israeli conflict, much less world peace.

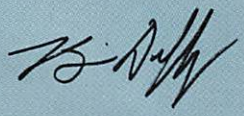
ORY SANDEL
Berkeley, Calif.

AS AN EPISCOPAL PRIEST FOR THE past 36 years and a firm supporter of Israel until 1983, I want to offer another opinion. The main thesis appears to be that people who criticize Israel are anti-Semitic. I disagree. The State of Israel needs to be criticized by those within as well as those without in order to find solutions for the future. The State of Israel is in jeopardy because of its lack of ethics and justice regarding Palestinian citizens of Israel. If the State of Israel survives, it will be because it comes to terms with its need to offer apology, dignity, and peace

From the Editor

There are certain occasions, my parents told me when I was quite young, when it is inappropriate, if not downright dumb, to discuss religion and politics. Good advice, etiquette-wise. For journalists, however, that won't wash. Readers and viewers *expect* us to cover presidential races, the Roman Catholic Church's priest-sex scandal, and a dizzying list of lesser issues that can fairly be lumped under the labels religion and politics. At *U.S. News,* our commitment is to write about these things, and everything else we cover, in the most objective way possible—to present the facts and let you decide what to make of them.

No matter how down the middle we try to be, however, there are some subjects that are inevitably going to be lightning rods. Our recent cover story "The New Anti-Semitism" (November 3) is just the latest example. Here's an issue that combines the oil and water of religion *and* politics. The essay, by Editor-in-Chief Mortimer B. Zuckerman, prompted hundreds of you to share your thoughts on the subject. Some, like Glen Gerhard of La Jolla, Calif., complained that the article ignored "Israel's opposition to negotiating a reasonable solution" with the Palestinians. But by a more than 2-to-1 margin, those who wrote applauded the article's treatment of the subject. "Sobering and prophetic," Geoffrey Swire E-mailed us from Brookline, Mass. "Excellent," Joseph Ellis wrote from Woodland Hills, Calif. "Every American—and European, as well—should read it." We'd love to hear from more of you, at *letters@usnews.com.*



CLOUD THE ISSUE

OR CLEAR THE AIR?

The issue of global warming has given rise to heated debate. Is the burning of fossil fuels and increased concentration of carbon dioxide in the air a serious threat or just a lot of hot air? Shell believes that action needs to be taken now, both

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by companies and their customers. We are actively managing greenhouse gas emissions in our worldwide operations such that by 2010 they are still 5% or more below 1990 levels, even while we grow our business. We are also working to increase the supply of natural gas, a cleaner option for electricity generation and home heating, and offering alternative energy sources such as solar, hydrogen and wind power. It's all part of our commitment to contribute to

IS THERE A CHOICE?

sustainable development, balancing economic progress with environmental care and social responsibility. Solutions for the future won't come easily, particularly in today's climate, but you can't find them if you don't keep looking.

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to a people whose land it has occupied and its need to find ways to live with them in order to share the land called holy. The need is for people of Islamic, Jewish, and Christian persuasions to claim the land as holy and especially the city of Jerusalem, which they must share. Any other remedy leads to the disaster we are experiencing now.

RICHARD K. TOLL
Chair, Friends of Sabeel–North America
Portland, Ore.

I ENJOYED ZUCKERMAN'S ARTICLE on Israel and anti-Zionism, but he ignores the special responsibility that comes from having a country with a theocratic basis. He is disturbed when Yasser Arafat disputes the existence of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, saying it questions "the core of the Jewish faith." It may do so, but I would argue that it is the duty of any believer of any religion to question the core of his faith and values. Not to do so alleviates much soul-searching but creates a society of close-minded people prone to extremism.

GLEN GERHARD
La Jolla, Calif.

"GRAFFITI ON HISTORY'S WALLS" fails the test of evenhandedness. While defending the plight of the Israelis, Zuckerman has paid little regard to that of the Palestinians essentially living in an occupied land. Not good for those of us seeking true understanding.

WILLIAM W. BOKMAN
Santa Fe, N.M.

IT IS WITH TREPIDATION THAT I ASK a question that has been vexing me for decades: Why is the phrase "anti-Semitism" applied exclusively to the Jews? Indeed, I must suppose that your magazine is effectively sanctioning a definition of "Semites as Jews" to the exclusion of "Arabs, Assyrians, Phoenicians, etc." *(Webster's New World Dictionary)*. This definition I have never read. Furthermore, I can only think it would be detrimental to Jews worldwide. To return to the vexing question: Why is "anti-Semitism" applied exclusively to Jews? I, and no doubt countless others, really want to know.

SAM PAKENHAM-WALSH
West Columbia, Texas

ZUCKERMAN'S CONTENTION THAT anti-Zionism is the new name for anti-Semitism is patently erroneous. One is born a Semite; one must decide to be a Zionist. Theodor Herzl did not insist that the Jewish homeland be established in the midst of sworn enemies. For a thinking person to conclude that the forcible acquisition of Palestine/Israel by the Jews is wrong, based on the world conflagration it embodies, does not require hate. For those who see organized religion as the root of war after war, the Jewish claim that God said they had the right to the "Holy Land" is illogical to the extreme.

TOM MENEELY
Arco, Minn.

DID NO ONE NOTICE? Yes, the Hebrew document on the cover of the most recent magazine was upside down. I admit that things get "turned around" in an explosion. However, those of us who value the Hebrew language and Jewish culture found this rather odd.

MARVIN J. VANDER VLIET
Jenison, Mich.

ZUCKERMAN WRITES WITH HONESTY, passion, reason, and logic regarding the Middle East and terrorism. His essay should make anyone cry. If the Holocaust was not enough to teach the human race where something like anti-Semitism can lead, then what does it take?

MARK MCLAUGHLIN
Wells, Nev.

"GRAFFITI ON HISTORY'S WALLS" was an impassioned plea. A perfect capsule history of the State of Israel. A keeper. The modern Jews have enemies but also many allies. I count myself as one. But far more important, who is on Israel's side? "Behold, he that keepeth Israel doth neither slumber nor sleep" (Psalm 121:4).

REV. ROBERT GIBSON
Thornville, Ohio

DIGITAL-AGE OPPORTUNITIES

OUR SCHOOL DISTRICT SHARES THE Maine students' concerns that their laptops could be taken away ["Living in Tech State," October 20]. We distributed laptop computers to all of our students in grades three through 12 two years ago. Although we cannot yet say that it is making our students any smarter, we can say that it is making them (and their teachers) more productive. Those students who may have lagged behind their peers seem more interested and motivated now that they are working on their own laptops. Students already performing at a high level now have the time to take additional Advanced Placement and honors courses. Teachers, who were challenged to be creative in using the technology in the classroom, are finding they can automate some routine classroom chores and have more time to better address each student's individual needs. Dismantling the program would be a major setback for what we are all trying to achieve, which is to provide our students with the best possible education in the digital age.

R. GERARD LONGO, PH.D.
Superintendent
Quaker Valley School District
Sewickley, Pa.

SENTIMENTAL JOURNEYS

I AGREE WITH THE SENTIMENTS voiced in "Losing Our History" [November 10]. Songs are like time capsules, filled with messages from a moment in history. They're also fun to sing, making them a great tool for teachers. So why don't more teachers blend learning styles and use songs in their lesson plans? History textbooks rightly have bulked up on original source documents in art and literature that speak from the periods they represent, but music is absent. That's why the Center for American Music at the University of Pittsburgh has been working with teachers from around the country to select songs that can help students understand history. Next summer, secondary school teachers nationwide will participate in a five-week institute here at Pitt, "Voices Across Time: Teaching American History Through Song," sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Our aim? For school kids not only to learn "Home on the Range" and "This Land Is Your Land" but to understand history by singing them.

DEANE L. ROOT
Professor and Chair
Department of Music
Director and Curator
Center for American Music
University of Pittsburgh

"LOSING OUR HISTORY" IS INDEED alarming. Two points overlooked are worth mentioning, however. First, many

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"schoolroom classics" are no longer sung because they are politically or religiously offensive, e.g. "Dixie" or sacred, patriotic hymns like "My Country Tis of Thee" or "America the Beautiful" or "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Second, copyright laws have changed. Children of the early 20th century often sang songs from a generation or two prior to their own, songs that, at the time, were generally in the public domain. Similarly, today's children should be singing classic 20th-century tunes: Disney melodies, Rodgers and Hammerstein numbers, or even Elvis and the Beatles. Kids would love these wonderful songs, and teachers, too. But because of copyright concerns and the extent to which schools are now run like businesses, it's become too expensive and/or legally perilous for publishers to provide teachers with books featuring a rich and thorough selection of 20th-century music. The result is that elementary school music teachers are left to build their musical selections around saccharine, forgettable offerings. If only our children could simply relax and enjoy singing our rich musical heritage. They are missing so much!

DAVID LEINWEBER
Associate Professor of History
Oxford College of Emory University
Atlanta

"LOSING OUR HISTORY" SUGGESTED that American schoolchildren are not singing the old songs, and thereby "vital bits of America's history are being lost." Out here in Wisconsin there is a man who has dedicated his life and musical talents to sharing our nation's history as it is reflected in our old folk songs and tunes. His name is "Uncle Giles" Clark. Clark lives in the city of Menasha, which is located on Lake Winnebago's north shore. He recently entertained an enthusiastic group of youngsters (and oldsters) at a celebration in Oshkosh's Menominee Park. I am happy to report that the old songs are still being sung here in Wisconsin, where history is alive and well.

MICHAEL FRANCIS
Menasha, Wis.

A COURAGEOUS ICON

"A SAINTLY SMUGGLER" [OCTOBER 27] about Irena Sendler lay opened on the kitchen table, and her face stared at me each time I raised my head to finish reading the article or reread parts. I cried for Sendler, the children everywhere not saved from the horrors of conflict, the children who will not have a chance to read about such a person, whose father taught her "when someone is drowning, you don't ask if they can swim, you just jump in and help." What would the world be like if more of us would "just jump in and help"?

DIANE WEIDNER HOOVER
Newville, Pa.

RUSSIAN TYCOON DRAMA

"PUTIN VS. THE TYCOON" [NOVEMBER 10] misses the mark on the arrest of oil baron Mikhail Khodorkovsky. My wife is Russian and just returned from Moscow a week ago. The Russian people have seen firsthand how monopolists and criminals have looted Russia of hundreds of billions of dollars over the past several years. Khodorkovsky and his company, Yukos, are under investigation for tax evasion. Vladimir Putin called his bluff, proving no Russian citizen is above the law. Some analysts see the government's crackdown on oligarchs as a step toward ending corruption.

DARRIN B. LEWER
Houston

Clarifications:

- In the interview with Irena Sendler ["A Saintly Smuggler," October 27], she told how she saw "a priest" who cared for Jewish children "walk with them out to be killed" and that he was killed with them. Sendler, who does not speak English, spoke to us through an interpreter. There was an error in translation; the man who cared for the children should have been identified as Janusz Korczak, the Polish author and educator.
- The religious text illustrating "The New Anti-Semitism" [November 3] appears on the cover of the issue as it was discovered and photographed.

Corrections:

- "A Toast to Lower Cholesterol" [September 29] misidentified one of the wines included in Smart Chart. The correct name is 2000 Benton-Lane Oregon Pinot Noir, not Benton Lake.
- The Special Collector's Edition of *Mysteries of Faith* contained several errors. The title of the article about the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints should be "In Joseph Smith's Steps." A photograph accompanying the same piece is of Brigham Young and the Mormon Temple. *U.S. News* regrets these errors.

Please send your letters to Letters Editor 1050 Thomas Jefferson Street NW, W ington, DC 20007-3837. Fax: (2685. E-mail: letters@usnev

Washington Whispers

BY PAUL BEDARD

Would Bush want his girls on Iraq's front line?

It's a question every parent with a daughter in military service, or considering it, has mulled since Pfc. **Jessica Lynch,** bloodied and possibly raped, was rescued: What the heck were she and other female soldiers doing in the line of fire? The answer is simple, though little publicized: Rules changed in the Clinton years to get women closer to the front. "This is exactly what we warned would happen years ago," says **Elaine Donnelly,** head of the Center for Military Readiness, a group devoted to limiting female combat exposure. "We need brave women in the military," she says, "but no one's daughter should have to suffer an ordeal" like 19-year-old Lynch's. Even some Pentagon officials agree and would like to see new limits on female combat roles. But it's all up to **President Bush,** the father of twin 21-year-old daughters, who has yet to weigh in on the issue. Donnelly's attempts at an Oval Office visit have been ignored, so she has started a petition to get Bush to dump the rules. "He needs to give direction," says Donnelly. "We're tugging on his sleeve."

LENO FOR CHEAP

Here's a first for one of the hottest annual Washington political dinners. Instead of desperately shelling out big bucks to land a last-minute celeb, the White House Correspondents' Association has already lined up funnyman **Jay Leno** to take shots at the press and **President Bush** at the annual spring dinner. What's more: Leno isn't asking a king's ransom. Association Prez **Carl Cannon** of the *National Journal* kept the fee to $10,000. One hitch: Leno doesn't fly commercial, but maybe some news exec coming to the dinner from the West Coast can make room in the Learjet for the *Tonight Show* host. It hasn't been so easy in the past. At one recent dinner, **Aretha Franklin** demanded frills and $50,000. It got so expensive that the group had to cheapen the chow and booze or lose cash on its moneymaker.

TRIVIAL CLINTON

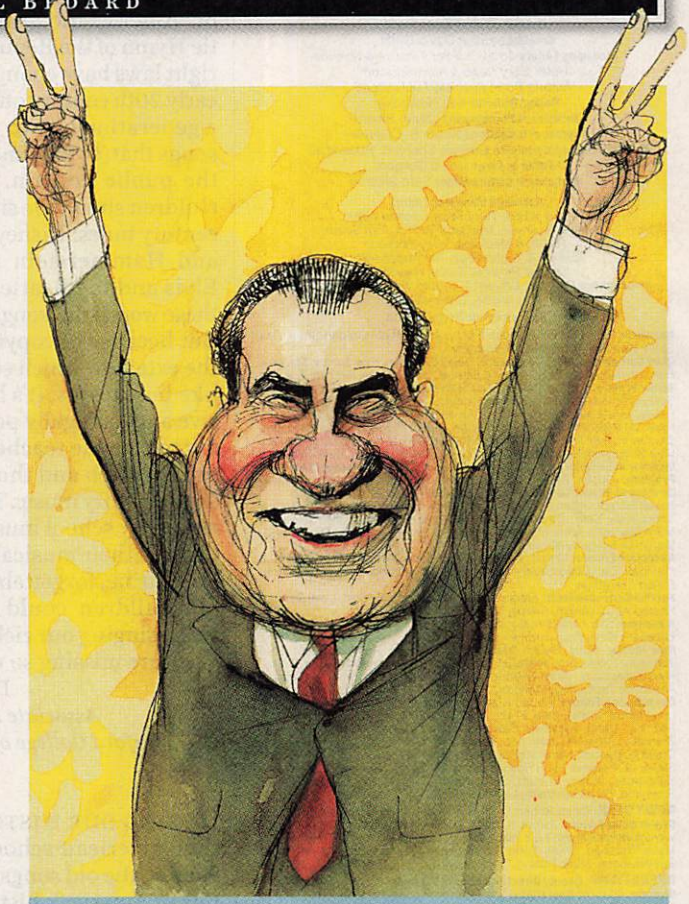
It probably won't include cigars, but former **President Clinton**'s foundation is developing catalog gifts to raise moola. It begins with the sale of Clinton cuff links. One future treat: a Clinton Trivial Pursuit game.

BRITISH CLIFFS NOTES

President Bush said he wanted to brush up on his British culture and history before flying to London this week to huddle with Prime Minister **Tony Blair.** The plan: His staff was to include a copy of *Master and Commander,* the new epic about the British Navy, on his Camp David theater list.

THE EMBED PAYOFF

Former Reagan-Bush spokesman **Marlin Fitzwater** knows a losing PR strategy when he sees one, and he thought that the Pentagon's



DICK NIXON GOES FROM D'OH TO DUDE

It was probably only a matter of time. With today's kids like, wowed, by everything 1970s, should we be surprised that the decade's biggest political bummer, **"Tricky Dick" Nixon,** is making a comeback? It's true; it's true. "It makes sense," says **Robert Garcia** of the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace in Yorba Linda, Calif. "When you think of the time period, you think of Dick Nixon." Granted, he's a biased source, but Garcia has evidence of a Nixon revival. The library gift store has just unveiled the first of what are several planned "retro" Nixon trinkets, this one a T-shirt showing the ex-prez bowling in the White House. And they are selling out fast. "Vintage stuff is back, and we wanted to see if this would work," says Garcia. "People love it." The retro plan is one of two that copy the already popular **Elvis** line of goods stamped with that famous pic of Dick and the King. The other: **Arnold Schwarzenegger** and Nixon, their 1991 pose on clothes and gifts over the California guv's line: "I'm a Republican because of Richard Nixon." What next? An "I am not a crook" apron?

ILLUSTRATION BY RICHARD THOMPSON FOR *USN&WR*

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☐ Return both. Keep your self-respect.

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JACK OHMAN / *THE OREGONIAN*

plan to embed reporters with troops in Iraq was a shining example. Until it worked. Now he's a big fan and this week will give ex-Pentagon spokeswoman **Torie Clarke** the first Marlin Fitzwater Center Award for Leadership in Public Communication. "It was quite unique," said Fitzwater, the namesake of a new journalism center at New Hampshire's Franklin Pierce College. Before, he said, "the government's answer to coverage was more control. For the first time, they gave journalists more freedom and less control."

DEAN'S REBEL YELL

He blundered the line and awkwardly tried to turn it into a debate on race relations, but **Howard Dean** was exactly right when he reached out to white southerners. "We have to target white men," says **Simon Rosenberg,** head of the New Democratic Network. Without them, Democrats lose. Did in 2002 and will in 004, adds ex-Clinton poll- **Mark Penn.** The duo has ed up to identify and target swing voters for Rosenberg's New Majority Coalition Research Project. How to win? Talk up soldiers and C&W music, offer tuition plans, and don't bash Bush. Instead, sound like a leader.

KREMLIN GREASE

Want to know why Russian oil billionaire **Mikhail Khodorkovsky** is in jail? We hear it's because he offered to front the Communist Party's antigovernment plan. Sources say he did so in a meeting with Communist leader **Gennady Zyuganov.** This being Russia, where ex-KGB agent **Vladimir Putin** is president, the meeting was naturally secretly recorded and then provided to the Kremlin. When Vlad later asked Mikhail about the deal, the oilman denied it. Wrong move. He leaves the Kremlin and, badda bing, is soon arrested. A December 30 hearing is planned.

WHITE HOUSE BLUE

It's probably not as big a question as Ford, Chevy, or Dodge, but some hobby farmers wanted to know which color tractor the White House uses—John Deere green, Kubota orange, or New Holland blue. Finally the answer: We just saw a nicely equipped New Holland doing a little front-end-loader work at the northwest gate.

BUSH'S TV DILEMMA

An admitted TV sports nut, **President Bush** pretty much hates this time of year. "He can watch baseball forever," says a pal, "but he's not really much into football." He stays up only to catch key Texas rivalries, bowl games, and college basketball's Sweet 16. But you won't catch him watching **Dr. Phil** instead. We're told that Bush uses his free time to work out, especially lifting weights à la **Arnold Schwarzenegger.** And fish, both at Camp David and his Texas ranch.

With Suzi Parker and Kenneth T. Walsh

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In Quotes

"I'll be home watching *The Bachelor.*"
SEN. TOM HARKIN, *Iowa Democrat, on the GOP's overnight debate promoting four blocked judicial nominees*

"It's Bush's election to lose."
FRANK NEWPORT, *Gallup Poll editor*

"I'd come close to wanting to shoot them."
SEN. ORRIN HATCH, *on a bid by* Hustler *execs to publish nude photos of war hero Jessica Lynch*

"Well, if that wasn't the most boring, flat, monotone speech I've ever heard."
BEN STEIN, *the comic, after Under Secretary of State John Bolton spoke on weapons of mass destruction at a dinner Stein emceed*

"We have a deranged president. We have despotism."
GORE VIDAL, *author, who hopes President Bush is defeated*

Sources: *Washington Times, USA Today, C-SPAN, Washington Post, L.A. Weekly*

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HYBRID SYNERGY DRIVE

TODAY TOMORROW

TO

The Week

BY LISA STEIN

DOUG MILLS—*THE NEW YORK TIMES*

Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist sits on a cot in his office.

YADA YADA YADA YADA YADA

They just would not shut up. For nearly 40 hours, members of the "world's most deliberative body" talked and talked and talked . . . . And what on Earth were they droning on about? Federal judges. Why? *Briefly*: Senate Republicans threw a hissy fit because they're frustrated at Dems for holding up four of President Bush's nominees to the federal bench. GOP-ers say Democrats are playing politics; Democrats counter they've confirmed 98 percent of Bush's judges, but these four are right-wing ideologues. "If these people are in the mainstream, honey, then I don't know what mainstream we're talking about," fumed Louisiana Democrat Mary Landrieu as the debate went into its 24th hour. When they finally hung it up, nary a vote was changed. Democracy at work. Hope you're taking notes, kids. *–Terence Samuel*

EDUCATION

PASSING GRADE

The nation's report card for fourth and eighth graders is out. The results? Math scores are up; reading scores are holding steady. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, 32 percent of fourth graders are performing at or above grade level in math, an 8-point jump since 2000; some 29 percent of eighth graders are proficient or better, a 3-point gain. Less encouraging: Only 31 percent of fourth graders read at or above grade level, the same as last year; 32 percent of eighth graders had proficient or better reading skills—a 1-point dip. "We are slowly picking up steam, and the reforms are starting to work," says Education Secretary Rod Paige. Maybe in *some* places. But the fact is that more than two thirds of the nation's fourth and eighth graders still aren't proficient in *either* reading or math. That means most eighth graders can't do long division and basic algebra.

• *The solution? States should follow the lead of places like Texas and South Carolina, which improved scores by implementing changes like smaller classes and school accountability, say education experts. Steps parents can take? Read to your kids, they say. Try it sometime.*

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Spotlight

Children stand in the ruins of a building in Baghdad.

BIDDING TO REBUILD IRAQ

It's not unusual for corporate reps and execs to converge on Washington, D.C., for trade fairs. Not to mention to court government officials in a bid to win megabuck contracts. But seldom do they have a shot at getting contracts worth *billions*—$18.7 billion to be precise—to help rebuild a shattered nation. And yet, that's exactly what hundreds of companies are doing this week as they vie for a portion of the pot set aside for the colossal task of rebuilding war-torn Iraq. The Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq is hosting "Industry Days" in Washington and London hotels to begin the process of doling out the biggest foreign aid expenditure in U.S. history.

Over 700 companies will attend the Washington conference, hoping to bid on more than 20 prime contracts and potentially thousands of subcontracts for everything from electricity and communications to transportation and security. Among possible restrictions: *U.S. News* has learned that U.S. officials were leaning toward granting prime contracts only to U.S. companies and firms from nations that committed troops to Iraq. Such a decision could be an enormous windfall for these few nations and a rebuke to some of America's closest allies (read: France and Germany). "Why," says a Pentagon official, "should we give American dollars to people who hold us in contempt?"

The man in charge of the industry fest is retired Adm. David Nash, a former Navy combat engineer who ran military construction projects in Vietnam in the early 1970s. As head of the Iraq Infrastructure Reconstruction Office, he will coordinate an expedited contracting process expected to wrap up by February. In contrast to the initial contracts awarded to giants like Halliburton and Bechtel, the new round is expected to be more open and to broaden the pool of bidders to give smaller companies a piece of the action. Says Tracy Bradican of Cetrom, a small Gaithersburg, Md.-based architecture and construction firm: "I expect to walk out of the conference with a substantial amount of business." *–Mark Mazzetti*

TELECOMMUNICATIONS

CUT THE CORD

And now, something for all of you out there married to your cellphones. The Federal Communications Commission last week adopted new regs that beginning November 24 will allow consumers in the top 100 markets to disconnect their phones and transfer their home numbers to mobile phones in the same local calling area. The FCC also gave the go-ahead for customers to keep their cell numbers when they switch carriers. The recent decision could be another blow to local phone companies, which have been losing millions of customers a year to cell providers. Mind you, there are still plenty of reasons to stick with trusty old land lines. Most notably: Traditional phones provide clear connections all over the house, while mobiles are iffy at best.

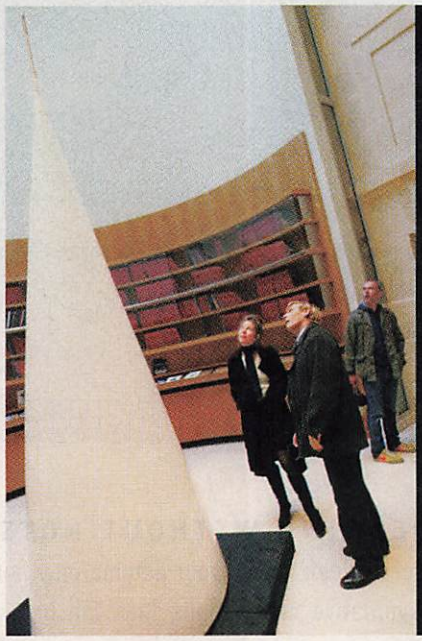
• *Phone companies will have four days and cell providers 2½ hours to complete transfers. The old phone lines must continue to operate until transfers are complete. Any bets on how often that'll happen?*

BUSINESS

CHOLESTEROL BUSTERS

Will the world's bestselling drug continue to dominate? It sure looks like it. A new study found Pfizer's cholesterol-busting Lipitor, which made $8 billion last year, is more effective at unclogging arteries than its less popular rival, Pravachol, from Bristol-Myers Squibb. In the first study of its kind, 502 patients with elevated cholesterol were examined over an 18-month period. Lipitor pushed LDL (bad) cholesterol to lower levels than Pravachol did and halted the progression of heart disease, which advanced slightly in the Pravachol patients. Cardiologists were impressed, but investors clearly were not: Bristol-Myers stock rose 52 cents to $25.50 on the news.

• *A Bristol-Myers spokesperson calls the results of the Pfizer-sponsored study "informative" but says more clinical studies are needed. As fate would have it, Bristol-Myers just happens to have a study in the works. Big surprise, huh?*



SUPERSONIC SALE. People examine parts of an Air France Concorde before they were auctioned off by Christie's last week; proceeds of the sale will go to a children's charity. The Concorde stopped flying last month. Among sale items: the mach-meter, captain's seats, motors, and other souvenirs from one of the supersonic carriers.

FROM LEFT: DAVID BUTOW—REDUX FOR *USN&WR*; ETIENNE DE MALGLAIVE—GAMMA

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HORMONES

TESTOSTERONE BLUES

Bad news, guys. A new report says there's no hard evidence that those testosterone patches and shots work—except in men with damaged gonads or pituitary glands—or, for that matter, are safe. The Institute of Medicine says more study is needed to document benefits and rule out potential risks such as prostate cancer. • *Now you know how millions of menopausal women felt last year when a study showed hormone replacement therapy ups the risk of cancer and heart disease.*

BASEBALL & STEROIDS

Five strikes and you're out? Major League Baseball last week said that beginning 2004, players testing positive for steroid use must undergo treatment; a second offense carries a 15-day suspension or a $10,000 fine. The penalties jump to 25 days or $25,000 for a third offense, 50 days or $50,000 for a fourth, and one year or $100,000 for a fifth offense. • *The move comes after 5 percent to 7 percent of major-leaguers tested positive for steroids.*

OLEG KOROLEV—VEDOMOSTY / AP

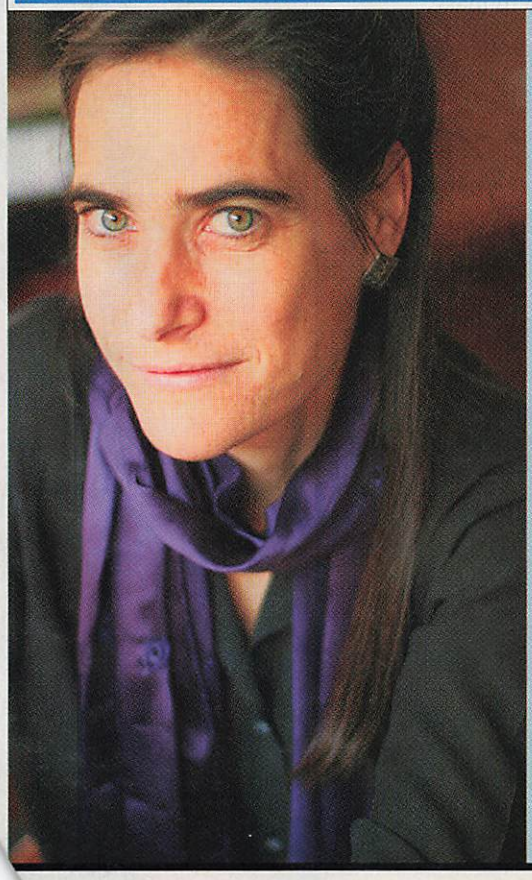
BARRED. Russian oil tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky, denied bail last week, remains jailed on fraud and other charges.

SCIENCE

VIRUS, ANYONE?

A new lab trick for stringing together the building blocks of DNA has allowed scientists to synthesize a bacteria-infecting virus in just two weeks. Do-it-yourself viruses aren't new; last year a team made poliovirus from scratch. But it can take years and be error prone. Now, says J. Craig Venter of the Institute for Biological Energy Alternatives, scientists have a cheap shortcut that will speed them toward the day when they can whip up made-to-order microbes to produce energy or drugs. • *Alas, terrorists might also like to make designer bugs—with far more nefarious goals. Venter believes beneficial applications will "far outstrip any potential negative ones." Right.*

People



FROM NPR TO KANDAHAR

Exchanging her microphone for stones, former National Public Radio reporter **Sarah Chayes**, 41, now is a field director of Afghans for Civil Society, based in Kandahar, a former Taliban stronghold. The group's first project, rebuilding a village destroyed in the fighting, is documented in *Life After War* (Sundance Channel, December 1, 9 p.m. ET).

What was wrong with the reporter gig?
I was covering a three-star restaurant in Paris that was all vegetarian. Everyone was saying, "Oh my, it's a French restaurant that doesn't serve meat." I had a great lunch, but I thought, what real value does this have? I don't feel comfortable in comfort. I need a little chaos.

Any unusual programs that you're running?
We have a poetry contest once a month. It's almost like gospel in church. They don't sing, but they chime in with the Afghan equivalent of, "Say it, brother." There was one powerful one by a man about forced marriages. Often they're love poems, and they can get quite racy.

Are you ever afraid?
I can afford to take a stance. There are 4,000 American soldiers on a base a half an hour from town, and although they won't protect me, the Afghans don't know that.

Do you ever want to give up?
We're suicidally idealistic, but you run into these complications. Cars are constantly breaking down because the roads are so bad. You can't take anyone at face value. You end up feeling like you're a rope getting pulled tighter and tighter and you're fraying.

How do you relax?
I should learn to fly a kite. Everyone else does. *–Vicky Hallett*

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR *USN&WR*

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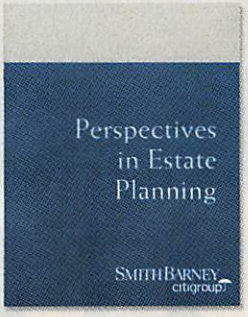

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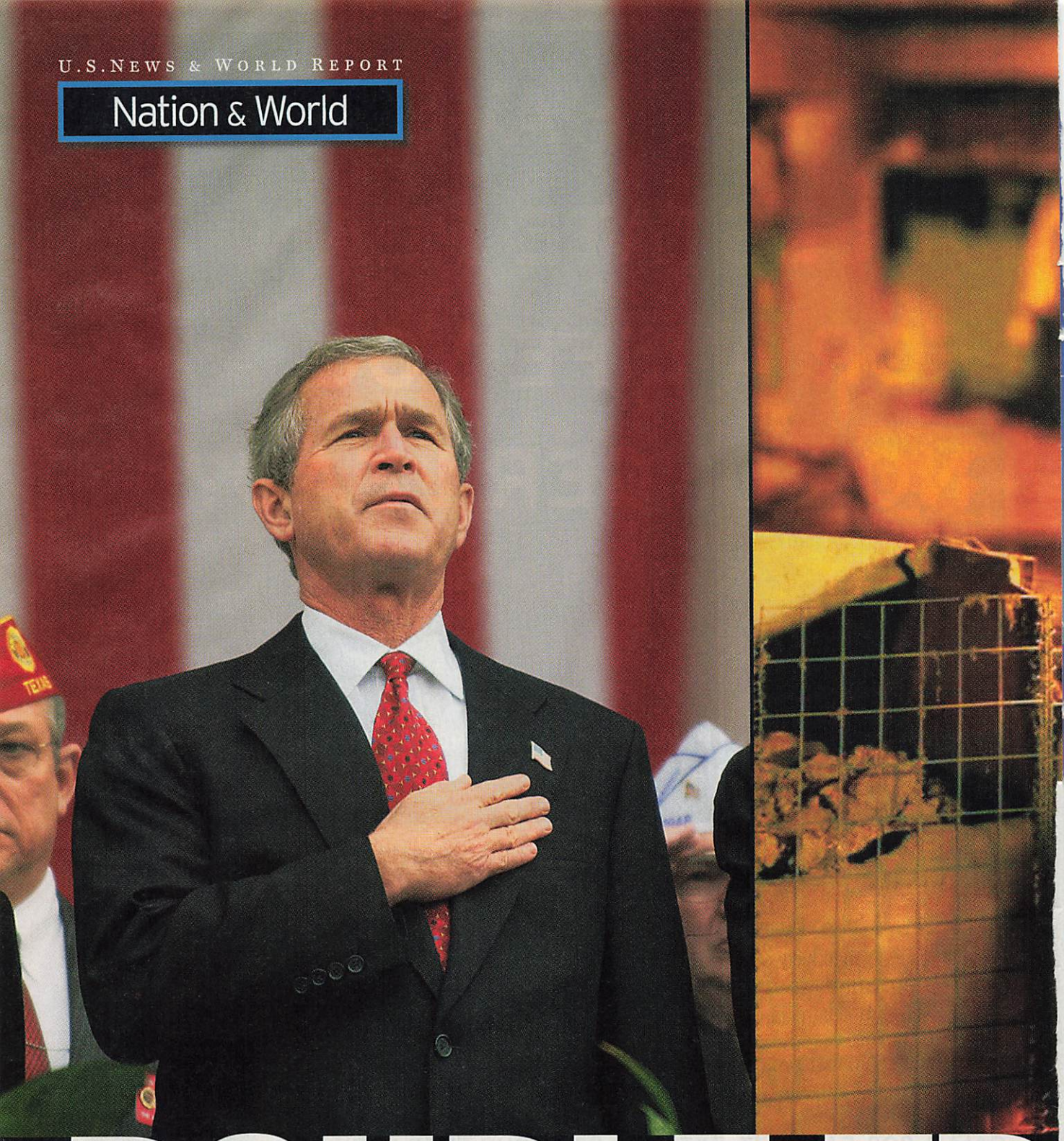

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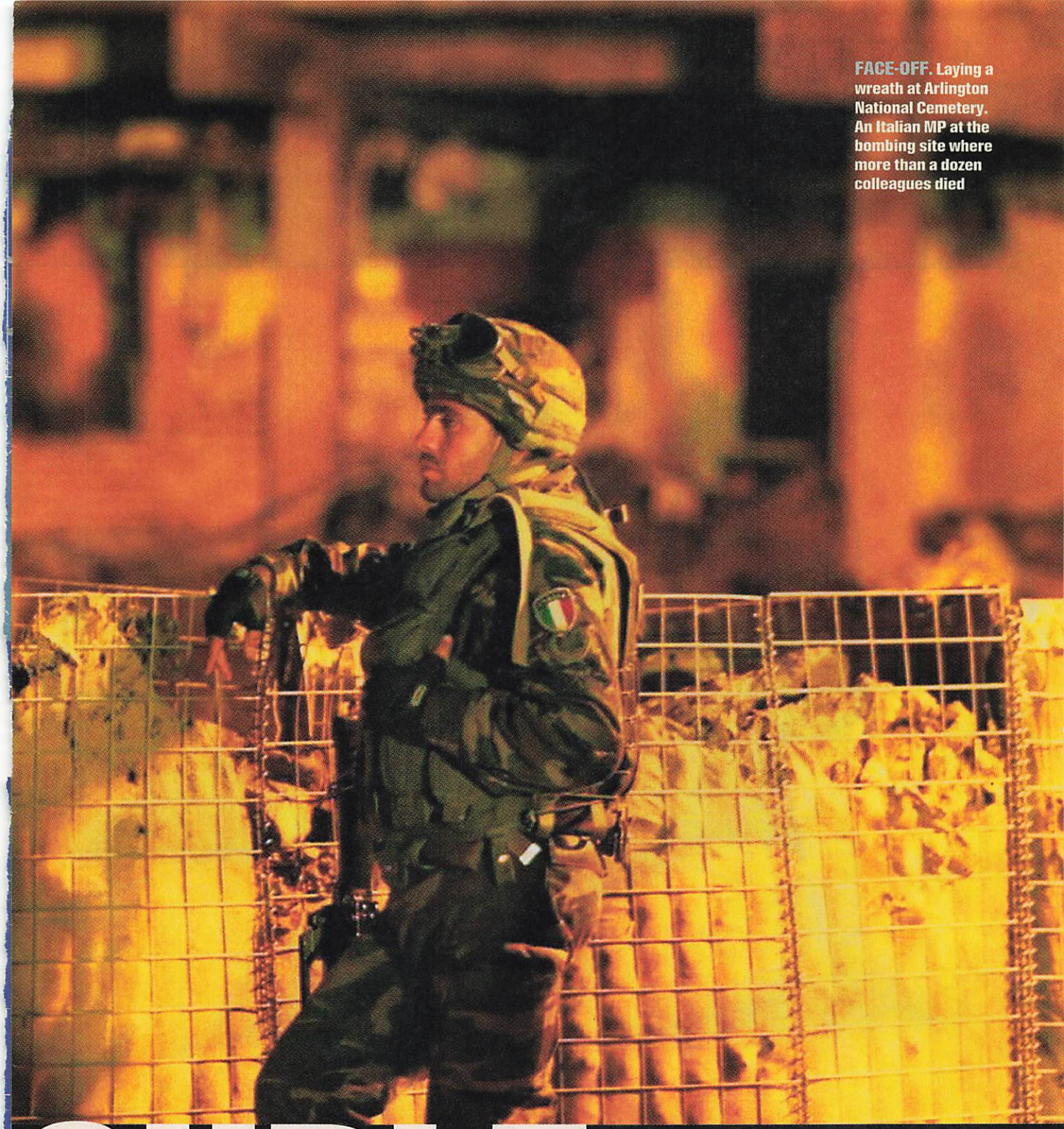


FACE-OFF. Laying a wreath at Arlington National Cemetery. An Italian MP at the bombing site where more than a dozen colleagues died

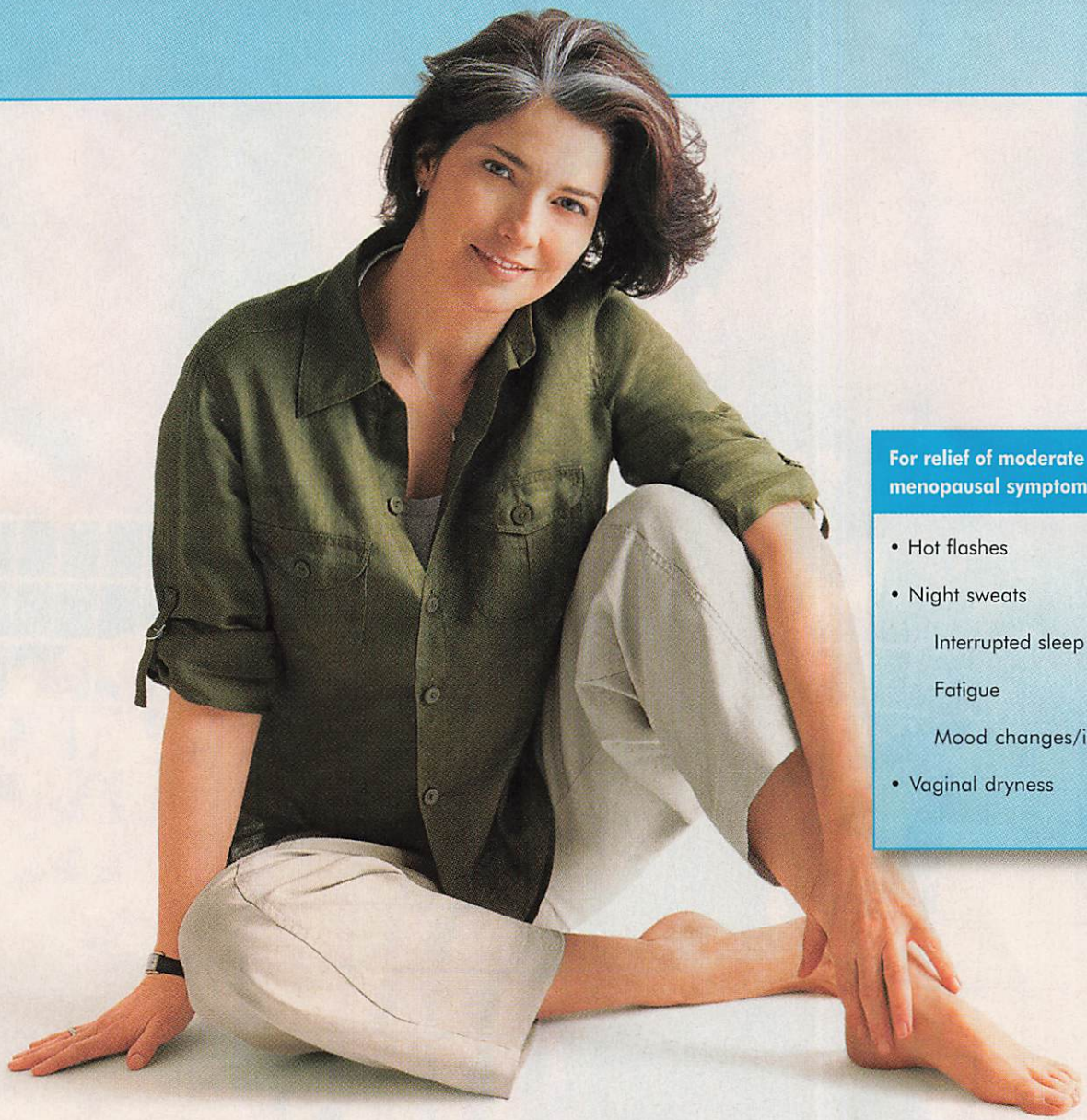
OUBLE

Confusion in Iraq and yet another attack in a shaky Saudi Arabia complicate Bush's Middle East game plan

FROM LEFT: JIM LO SCALZO FOR *USN&WR*; ZOHRA BENSEMRA

HOT FLASH:

New lower dose hormone therapy



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Please see the Patient Information on the following page.

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(Updated June 5, 2003)

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PREMPRO is a medicine that contains two kinds of hormones, estrogens and a progestin.

PREMPRO is used after menopause to:

- **reduce moderate to severe hot flashes.** Estrogens are hormones made by a woman's ovaries. The ovaries normally stop making estrogens when a woman is between 45 and 55 years old. This drop in body estrogen levels causes the "change of life" or menopause (the end of monthly menstrual periods). Sometimes, both ovaries are removed during an operation before natural menopause takes place. The sudden drop in estrogen levels causes "surgical menopause."

  When the estrogen levels begin dropping, some women develop very uncomfortable symptoms, such as feelings of warmth in the face, neck, and chest, or sudden strong feelings of heat and sweating ("hot flashes" or "hot flushes"). In some women the symptoms are mild, and they will not need to take estrogens. In other women, symptoms can be more severe. You and your healthcare provider should talk regularly about whether you still need treatment with PREMPRO.
- **treat moderate to severe dryness, itching, and burning, in and around the vagina.** You and your healthcare provider should talk regularly about whether you still need treatment with PREMPRO to control these problems.
- **help reduce your chances of getting osteoporosis (thin weak bones).** Osteoporosis from menopause is a thinning of the bones that makes them weaker and easier to break. If you use PREMPRO only to prevent osteoporosis from menopause, talk with your healthcare provider about whether a different treatment or medicine without estrogens might be better for you. You and your healthcare provider should talk regularly about whether you should continue with PREMPRO.

  Weight-bearing exercise, like walking or running, and taking calcium and vitamin D supplements may also lower your chances of getting postmenopausal osteoporosis. It is important to talk about exercise and supplements with your healthcare provider before starting them.

Who should not take PREMPRO?

Do not take PREMPRO if you have had your uterus removed (hysterectomy). PREMPRO contains a progestin to decrease the chances of getting cancer of the uterus. If you do not have a uterus, you do not need a progestin and you should not take PREMPRO.

Do not start taking PREMPRO if you:

- **have unusual vaginal bleeding.**
- **currently have or have had certain cancers.** Estrogens may increase the chances of getting certain types of cancers, including cancer of the breast or uterus. If you have or had cancer, talk with your healthcare provider about whether you should take PREMPRO.
- **had a stroke or heart attack in the past year.**
- **currently have or have had blood clots.**
- **have liver problems.**
- **are allergic to PREMPRO or any of its ingredients.** See the end of this leaflet for a list of all the ingredients in PREMPRO.
- **think you may be pregnant.**

Tell your healthcare provider:

- **if you are breastfeeding.** The hormones in PREMPRO can pass into your milk.
- **about all of your medical problems.** Your healthcare provider may need to check you more carefully if you have certain conditions, such as asthma (wheezing), epilepsy (seizures), migraine, endometriosis, lupus, problems with your heart, liver, thyroid, kidneys, or have high calcium levels in your blood.
- **about all the medicines you take,** including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may affect how PREMPRO works. PREMPRO may also affect how your other medicines work.
- **if you are going to have surgery or will be on bedrest.** You may need to stop taking estrogens and progestins.

How should I take PREMPRO?

- Take one PREMPRO tablet at the same time each day.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as possible. If it is almost time for your next dose, skip the missed dose and go back to your normal schedule. Do not take 2 doses at the same time.
- Estrogens should be used only as long as needed. You and your healthcare provider should talk regularly (for example, every 3 to 6 months) about whether you still need treatment with PREMPRO.

What are the possible side effects of PREMPRO?

Less common but serious side effects include:

- Breast cancer
- Cancer of the uterus
- Stroke
- Heart attack
- Blood clots
- Dementia
- Gallbladder disease
- Ovarian cancer

These are some of the warning signs of serious side effects:

- Breast lumps
- Unusual vaginal bleeding
- Dizziness and faintness
- Changes in speech
- Severe headaches
- Chest pain
- Shortness of breath
- Pains in your legs
- Changes in vision
- Vomiting

Call your healthcare provider right away if you get any of these warning signs, or any other unusual symptoms that concern you.

Common side effects include:

- Headache
- Breast pain
- Irregular vaginal bleeding or spotting
- Stomach/abdominal cramps/bloating
- Nausea and vomiting
- Hair loss

Other side effects include:

- High blood pressure
- Liver problems
- High blood sugar
- Fluid retention
- Enlargement of benign tumors of the uterus ("fibroids")
- Vaginal yeast infections
- Mental depression

These are not all the possible side effects of PREMPRO. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

What can I do to lower my chances of getting a serious side effect with PREMPRO?

- Talk with your healthcare provider regularly about whether you should continue taking PREMPRO.
- See your healthcare provider right away if you get vaginal bleeding while taking PREMPRO.
- Have a breast exam and mammogram (breast X-ray) every year unless your healthcare provider tells you something else. If members of your family have had breast cancer or if you have ever had breast lumps or an abnormal mammogram, you may need to have breast exams more often.
- If you have high blood pressure, high cholesterol (fat in the blood), diabetes, are overweight, or if you use tobacco, you may have higher chances for getting heart disease. Ask your healthcare provider for ways to lower your chances of getting heart attacks.

General information about the safe and effective use of PREMPRO

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not take PREMPRO for conditions for which it was not prescribed. Do not give PREMPRO to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It may harm them.

Keep PREMPRO out of the reach of children.

This leaflet provides a summary of the most important information about PREMPRO. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider or pharmacist. You can ask for information about PREMPRO that is written for health professionals. You can get more information by calling the toll free number 800-934-5556.

What are the ingredients in PREMPRO?

PREMPRO contains the same conjugated estrogens found in Premarin® (conjugated estrogens tablets, USP) which are a mixture of sodium estrone sulfate and sodium equilin sulfate and other components including sodium sulfate conjugates, 17α-dihydroequilin, 17α-estradiol and 17β-dihydroequilin. PREMPRO also contains either 1.5, 2.5, or 5 mg of medroxyprogesterone acetate. PREMPRO also contains calcium phosphate tribasic, calcium sulfate, carnauba wax, cellulose, glyceryl monooleate, lactose, magnesium stearate, methylcellulose, pharmaceutical glaze, polyethylene glycol, sucrose, povidone, titanium dioxide, and yellow ferric oxide or red ferric oxide or FD&C Blue No. 2.

PREMPRO therapy consists of a single tablet to be taken once daily.

PREMPRO 0.3 mg/1.5 mg

Each carton includes 3 EZ DIAL™ dispensers containing 28 tablets. One EZ DIAL dispenser contains 28 oval, cream tablets containing 0.3 mg of the conjugated estrogens found in Premarin tablets and 1.5 mg of medroxyprogesterone acetate for oral administration.

PREMPRO 0.45 mg/1.5 mg

Each carton includes 3 EZ DIAL dispensers containing 28 tablets. One EZ DIAL dispenser contains 28 oval, gold tablets containing 0.45 mg of the conjugated estrogens found in Premarin tablets and 1.5 mg of medroxyprogesterone acetate for oral administration.

PREMPRO 0.625 mg/2.5 mg

Each carton includes 3 EZ DIAL dispensers containing 28 tablets. One EZ DIAL dispenser contains 28 oval, peach tablets containing 0.625 mg of the conjugated estrogens found in Premarin tablets and 2.5 mg of medroxyprogesterone acetate for oral administration.

PREMPRO 0.625 mg/5 mg

Each carton includes 3 EZ DIAL dispensers containing 28 tablets. One EZ DIAL dispenser contains 28 oval, light-blue tablets containing 0.625 mg of the conjugated estrogens found in Premarin tablets and 5 mg of medroxyprogesterone acetate for oral administration.

The appearance of PREMPRO tablets is a trademark of Wyeth Pharmaceuticals.

The appearance of Premarin tablets is a trademark of Wyeth Pharmaceuticals. The appearance of the conjugated estrogens/medroxyprogesterone acetate combination tablets is a registered trademark.

Store at 20 - 25°C (68 - 77°F); excursions permitted to 15 - 30°C (59 - 86°F) [see USP Controlled Room Temperature].

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105509-01

BY BRIAN DUFFY

There are different rhythms to every presidency, and even within a single presidency. They're impossible to predict, much less score, driven, as even the conduct of presidents is, by the rush and tumble of events. Less than two weeks ago, George W. Bush delivered a speech that many hailed as the best of his presidency, but there was no way he or anyone could have anticipated the harsh dissonance that would follow so soon after such a high note. Citing Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Ronald Reagan, the president spoke eloquently of America's "calling" to advance the cause of democracy throughout the world and emphasized his commitment to doing just that on the hard ground of the Middle East. Within days, suicide bombings in Baghdad and the Saudi capital of Riyadh left more than two score dead and hundreds wounded. In Washington, Bush and his aides contemplated both a strategy for a more rapid exit from Iraq and a shock to the foundation of the House of Saud more jolting than any in its history.

There is no gainsaying Bush's commitment to sticking it out in Iraq and to sticking by his friends and allies in Riyadh. His decision last week to summon his viceroy home from Baghdad to work out a plan to shift more authority to a new Iraqi governing body and, possibly, end control of the U.S.-led occupation by next summer was a belated recognition of the fact that his go-it-alone approach simply wasn't working. The attack on the Italian military police headquarters in Nasiriyah, which came as Bush and his top aides conferred with Paul Bremer, his top administrator in Iraq, was the deadliest assault on foreign forces allied with U.S. troops there since the occupation began. Army Gen. John Abizaid, the senior military commander for the Middle East, says the American-led coalition is facing no more than 5,000 guerrilla fighters in Iraq. The bombing of the Italian *carabinieri* headquarters, however, made Abizaid's tempered assessment seem to pale in comparison with that of one of his top generals, Ricardo Sanchez, who said bluntly just days earlier that U.S. and allied forces in Iraq are now engaged in a "war."

The differences were not just over semantics. A top-secret assessment from the CIA's Baghdad station chief last week appeared to give the lie to the sunny, largely sanguine characterizations of Iraq emanating from the Pentagon. The withering report painted a picture of a growing guerrilla movement that could not only win increased popular support in coming months but that, more recently, has been exhibiting a disciplined tactical approach to its attacks seemingly right out of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*.

JIM LO SCALZO FOR *USN&WR*

VICEROY. Bremer, explaining the new thinking, outside the White House

"Half-trained." In the eyes of many, the accelerated "Iraqification" efforts Bremer has already embarked on upon his return to Baghdad conjure unwelcome images of Vietnamization. For lots of obvious reasons, Iraq is no Vietnam, but even some Republicans wondered last week about the logic of reducing the number of U.S. troops at the same time the number and intensity of attacks on them was increasing. John McCain was hardly alone among the Republicans questioning the decision, but, as usual, he had what was easily the best quote. "If the American military can't do it," he said, "then certainly half-trained Iraqis cannot."

Even less clear is how Bremer manages the desired handoff of political power. Almost no one believes the Iraqi Governing Council, its two dozen members handpicked by Bremer, has been anything but a disaster, with many on the council traveling outside Iraq for weeks, even months. One option under consideration is the so-called Afghan model. Early elections would result in a constituent assembly, which would then appoint an executive, some kind of legislature, and a committee to draft a constitution. The problem? There's no Iraqi equivalent to Afghanistan's Hamid Karzai, someone respected enough by enough Iraqis to be installed as a leader. Such a scenario raises an intriguing though not especially happy possibility. The Pentagon's fair-haired Iraqi is Ahmad Chalabi, the head of the Iraqi National Congress. After having lived a prosperous banker's life abroad, he returned to Iraq just as Saddam Hussein's regime began crumbling. Chalabi, however, appears to have virtually no support

NUMBERS GAME?

The Bush administration cites an expanding Iraqi security force available to help U.S. troops fight the insurgency. When top officials speak, the numbers keep growing and growing and growing . . . .

DATE	SPEAKER	CITED IRAQI FORCES
Oct. 9	Paul Bremer	60,000
Oct. 30	Condoleezza Rice	85,000
Nov. 3	Donald Rumsfeld	over 100,000
Nov. 10	Donald Rumsfeld	118,000
Nov. 11 (7:06 a.m.)	Gen. Richard Myers	131,000
Nov. 11 (7:22 a.m.)	Donald Rumsfeld	125–130,000

Note: Includes Iraqi Army, police, Civil Defense Corps, and border and facilities guards
Source: Staff reporting

among ordinary Iraqis. "God help us," says a State Department official, "if it is Chalabi or one of these externals."

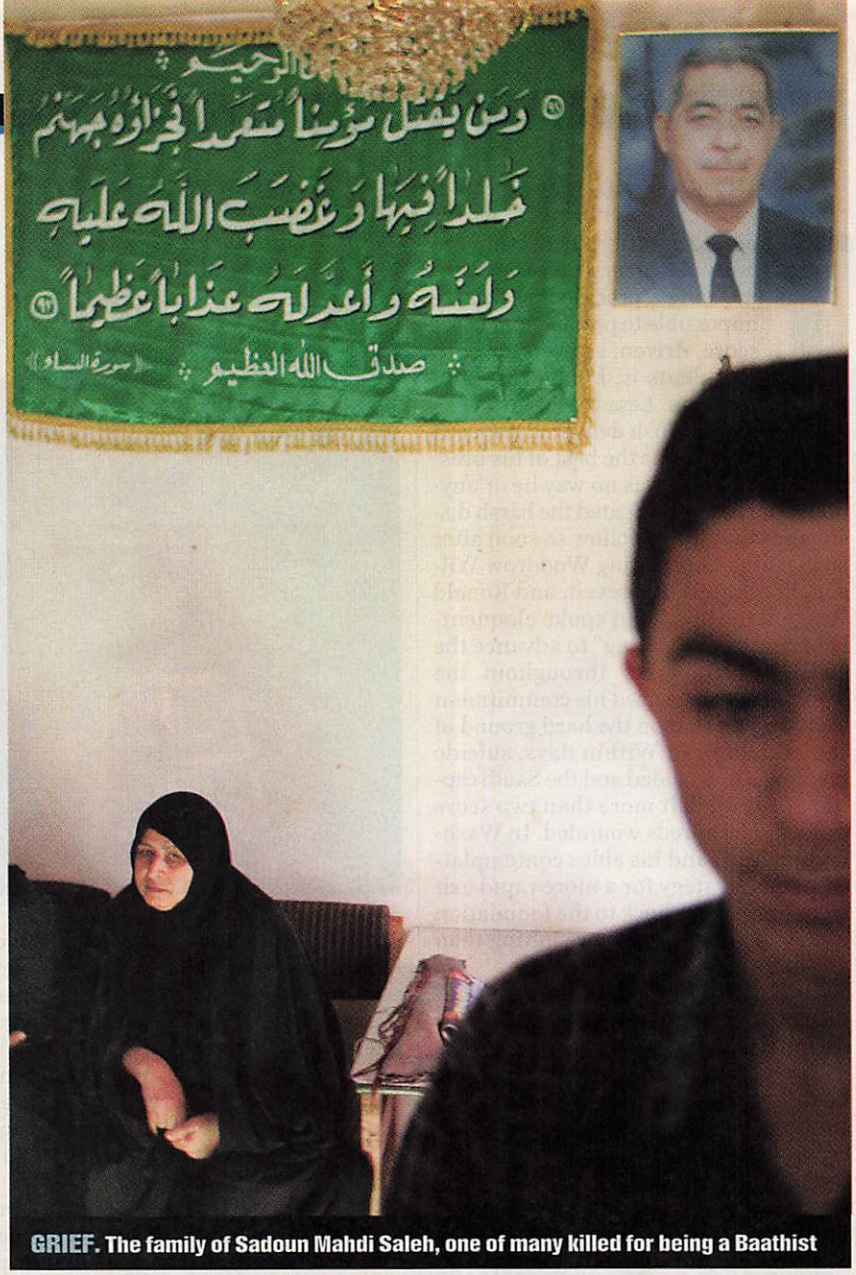
If the number of scenarios in Iraq is large and perilous, in Saudi Arabia, the attack in Riyadh, which killed and wounded mostly Arab residents of a foreign housing compound, seems to have galvanized the royals. Even King Fahd bestirred himself, despite his long illness, vowing to strike back with an "iron fist." The attack had all the hallmarks of Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda terrorists, and veteran Saudi-watchers say top officials in the kingdom have finally come to understand that they, not America, are the ultimate targets. "Osama bin Laden doesn't want to come to New York," says Edward Walker, a former assistant secretary of state and president of the Middle East Institute. "He wants to go to Mecca and Medina," the two holiest sites in Islam, both of them in Saudi Arabia.

Wake-up call? If the giant is finally stirring, it's good news for President Bush's war on terror. Despite the fact that 15 of the 19 hijackers on 9/11 were Saudi, Fahd and his extended family were, until just lately, largely desultory participants in the cause. The Saudis, says a senior State Department official, have moved "light-years beyond" where they were on cooperation issues a year or so ago. Says Tom Powers, a veteran counterterrorism agent who runs the FBI's ever expanding operations in the kingdom: "They are attacking on all fronts."

Self-preservation can be a powerful motivator. Since May, Saudi security forces have mounted over a dozen raids on suspected al Qaeda operatives, making over 200 arrests and seizing a breathtaking amount of weaponry, including 93 rocket-propelled grenades and 20 tons of raw materials for homemade explosives. "There's no explanation for their size," a top U.S. official says of the weapons caches, "except a possible coup." Adds William Wechsler, a former senior official on the National Security Council: "Their primary objective from Day 1 was Saudi Arabia. . . . It's a return to the core objective of al Qaeda."

Those who know him best say George W. Bush had few illusions about the course he set in pledging to try to bring democracy to the Middle East, much less the difficulty of keeping such a promise. The bombings in Baghdad and Riyadh indicate only that the degree of difficulty has just gotten greater. ●

With Kevin Whitelaw and Thomas Omestad, and David E. Kaplan in Riyadh



GRIEF. The family of Sadoun Mahdi Saleh, one of many killed for being a Baathist

AN EYE FOR AN EYE

Seeking their own justice, some Iraqis turn to revenge killings to settle old scores

BY BAY FANG

BAGHDAD—Ammar al-Samarrai has a haunted look in his eyes and a gun in his pocket. The 30-year-old kneads his prayer beads deliberately as he talks of revenge—revenge that took his father's life, revenge that keeps him on the run, revenge that is driving his life.

Samarrai has been this way since the morning of September 18, when his father, a former Baath Party official who became a taxi driver after the war, drove off to work. He was just pulling over to pick up someone when a white Caprice blocked his way. The man who had flagged him down pulled out a gun and shot the father four times, twice in the head and twice in the chest, then jumped in the Caprice and sped off. Samarrai's brother Uday, who works in a nearby bakery, heard the gunshots. "I joked with my friends, saying 'That guy's dead,' but then I saw the car. I ran over, and saw my father lying inside, covered with blood," he says. "After I pulled his body out, people

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gathered around, but I cried for help for 25 minutes before someone dared to help. I could still feel the breath in him." Everyone feared the killers, he says, including the police, who said there were eight cases involving the same car, all targeting neighborhood Baathists. Now Samarrai, who believes the hit was intended for him, is both the hunter and the hunted. "This is the only aim for me, my cousins, my tribe—to catch those who killed my father," he says. "I consulted with the most senior religious men in Samarra, and they said that the killer must be killed, even if it takes some time. But the blood of a Muslim is never wasted."

Samarrai's story has become almost commonplace. In the land where the concept of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" was born nearly 4,000 years ago under the code of Babylonian King Hammurabi, revenge killings of Baathists have been rampant since the fall of the former regime. Most were thought by the coalition and Iraqi police to be personal acts of vengeance. Recently, though, more-sinister stories of organized hits have introduced the issue of whether groups with political agendas, such as the historically suppressed Shiite Muslims, could be responsible. Baathists, thought to make up a large part of the anticoalition insurgency, have in turn been blamed for the murders of judges and Shiite leaders. The fear is that this is the start of a cycle of sectarian violence, which could further complicate the Bush administration's desire to accelerate the handover of political authority to Iraqis.

Blind eye? Baath Party officials had been cogs in Saddam Hussein's terror machine, which killed hundreds of thousands over his 35-year rule; U.S. officials say some 300,000 victims lie in recently identified mass graves, mostly Shiites and Kurds killed for opposing the regime. However, many of the 1.5 million Baath members joined the party simply to get a government job or better pay, and they say they are being unfairly targeted, with the coalition turning a blind eye. Wameed Nadmi, a former political science professor at Baghdad University, says that he has seen many of his Baathist colleagues dismissed from jobs undeservingly and that many of Iraq's best scholars and scientists are fleeing the country. "If Americans laugh when they see a Baathist killed," he says, "then they should expect after days or months that this is not a country of law and order but a country of assassination and counterassassination."

Qais Hassan Selman, the medical examiner at the morgue, thinks this has already begun. He describes a body brought in two days ago by the Baghdad police. The man had been tortured, he said, but shot only once—in the middle of his forehead. The body was wrapped in a burlap bag, with a sign on it that read, "Ahmed Thawbit Azam al-Tikriti, who had a hand in the assassination of al-Hakim." (Shiite leader Ayatollah Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim was killed by a car bomb in August.) The police who brought him said two such bodies had been dumped in front of the station in the past month, but they have not investigated the incidents because they have too much to worry about—including getting killed themselves. Some whispered that they knew the Shiite group responsible but were afraid of pursuing its members.

Inside the Baghdad headquarters of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, Iraq's largest Shiite movement, gruesome pictures of torture victims cover one wall, with captions such as: "Baathists used to kill, destroy, and torture, under orders of their master . . . but now they are at peace, unafraid of any punishment."

ED KASHI—CORBIS FOR *USN&WR*

CYCLE OF VIOLENCE. Ammar al-Samarrai and brother Uday want to avenge their father's murder.

Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, a SCIRI leader on the governing council, blames Baathists for his brother's murder and called for people to "root out all Baath Party gangsters and Saddam followers by force." A senior official of SCIRI's paramilitary arm, the Badr Brigade, clarifies: "There are those Baathists who did not commit any crimes and have told us they will go back to a civilian role. They are our friends and brothers. But there are those who have committed and are committing crimes . . . they will be our targets." In the current security void, he says, those victimized by the regime are understandably seeking any kind of justice they can get. When asked about the force's role in organized killings, he replies: "We gave over 3¼ million martyrs and missing people, and we will never retreat against those who are obstacles in the face of security."

Samarrai has his own obstacles to deal with. He gets in his car, which he changes every few days, and prepares to drive into the night. When he identifies his father's killers, he will assemble a group from his tribe and hunt them down. "If I thought the government could take revenge for me, I would let them do it. But it's obvious they can't," he says. "If I find the killers I won't notify you . . . I'll just bring you the pictures of the dead bodies." ●

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LETTER FROM RIYADH

Of Bedouins and bombings

BY DAVID E. KAPLAN

The House of Saud issues no engraved invitations to just come visit. Travelers to the desert kingdom come for business, to see family, or to make the annual pilgrimage to Islam's holiest sites. That the Saudis take their faith seriously can be seen on the visa application, which asks not only for my address and passport number but also my religion and "sect."

This land of petrodollars and piety, of Bedouins and, now, bombings, is like no other. Small wonder that American GIs call it the Magic Kingdom. Riyadh, its capital and largest city, was a backwater town of 20,000 until the 1930s, when the oil began to flow. Today it's a sprawling metropolis of nearly 5 million. The city reminds me eerily of the American Southwest, as if the infrastructure of, say, Tempe, Ariz., had somehow been spirited away to the Arabian desert. Riyadh's wide, U.S.-style highways are jammed with gas-guzzling imports from Chrysler and Cadillac. Throngs fill the luxury malls crammed with designer wear from Hermes, Rolex, and Gucci. There are fast-food joints everywhere–not just the ubiquitous McDonald's but Dunkin' Donuts and Pizza Hut as well.

And yet, as if in a dream, everything seems slightly off kilter. The women shopping the malls are clothed from head to foot in black abayas, cloaks that allow only their eyes to be seen through a narrow breach. Shoppers float in and out of stores like ghosts on high heels, eyeing the latest fashions for wear at home. The men, most of them, wear the traditional *thobe*, a long, flowing, white gown, topped by checkered head scarves.

Medieval. It is easy to bash the Saudis. This is, after all, the land that produced Osama bin Laden and 15 of his 19 hijackers. There is no democracy here and no free press. It is a place that practiced slavery until 1962. The regime still holds public beheadings and, for lesser crooks, floggings and amputations. Women are banned from driving, and rival religions are illegal. Alcohol is strictly forbidden.

Despite all this, one can sympathize with the Saudis. They are making the leap from the Middle Ages to modernity in a mere half century. A famously hospitable people, Saudis, many of them, hold genuine affection for American music, freedoms, and our way of life. It is not hard to meet Saudis who earned their degrees at American universities; two thirds of the government's *Majlis al-Shura*—its advisory council—are American educated. One Saudi professor confided, however, that even these pro-U.S. reformers worry that America may push the Saudis to change too quickly, creating a backlash. But America's critics seem the least of the Saudis' problems. Some 200 satellite channels are beamed into Saudi homes, offering racy MTV-like music videos, news from around the world, and American films that show a radically different way of life. While we worry that Saudi textbooks and imams preach jihad, the kids can be found after school at Internet cafes, surfing hard-core porn sites. There are those tempted by radical Islam, to be sure, but most young Saudi men seem to want what teenage guys everywhere want: girls, cool clothes, and rock-and-roll.

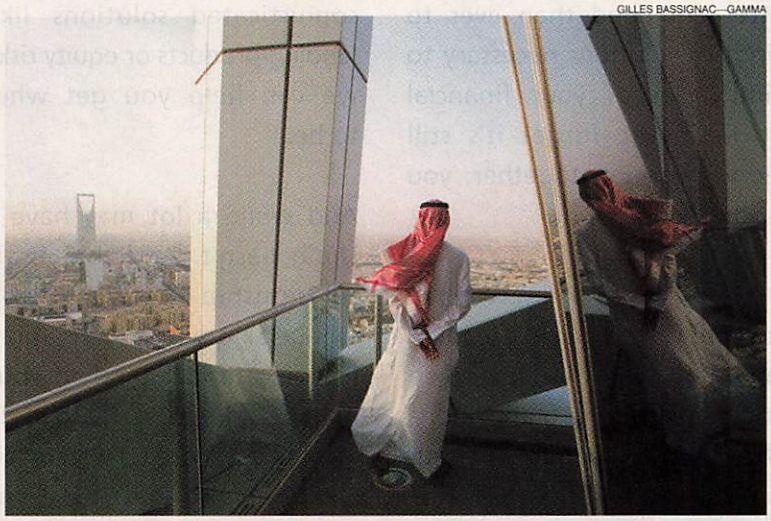
Dating takes its own unique path in a land where women are covered and an unchaperoned chat is punishable by law. Young Saudi men described to me at length how to judge a woman by her eyes alone. A mere glance, they say, reveals if a woman is happy, sad, sexy, or shy. And where, I ask, do these covert exchanges take place? The supermarket.

In Riyadh's grocery stores, sure enough, one finds roving bands of young men and women, eyeing each other with great intent. The next furtive step occurs in the produce section, I am told. "If she likes the man, she will leave her telephone number," reports one Saudi. "Under the tomatoes."

The would-be couple gets acquainted by cellphone, but the next step is more daring: a clandestine date that begins outside a local restaurant. Saudi dining establishments are segregated into sections for men and "family" (women, kids, and married couples). The young pair pretend they are married and enter the family section together. There, as their orders are taken, the veil comes off, and the man gets a first look at his date's face.

As I prepare to leave Riyadh, I try to square these stories with our images of the Saudis as terrorists and religious fanatics. We Americans, I tell some Saudi friends, believe you come out of Saudi schools as raving jihadists. They think it is the funniest thing they have heard all day. They come out of Saudi schools, they tell me, wanting to find phone numbers under tomatoes. ●

GILLES BASSIGNAC—GAMMA



OASIS. In the Saudi capital of Riyadh, skyscrapers rise from the desert sands.

"As oil companies evolve, they should consider themselves energy sources."

▲ Brian Connor/Account Manager

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CAGED. In 2001, Turkish prisoners protested against the practice of torture; abuses in Turkey were cited by the State Department.

TRADE IN THE TOOLS OF TORTURE

The U.S. government OKs the export of shackles and stun guns

BY DANIELLE KNIGHT

INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

The United States has permitted American companies to ship electric-shock weapons and mechanical restraints to 39 countries accused of torturing dissidents and detainees, according to a *U.S. News* review of export documents and State Department reports. The inquiry established that in the past two years, for instance, stun batons, stun guns, and similar devices were shipped to Haiti, India, Lebanon, and Turkey; the State Department has cited authorities in those countries for torturing prisoners with electric shock devices. Some companies have even found ways to ship their products overseas without seeking a government license, the inquiry found.

After being shown some of the 4,000 Commerce Department export documents obtained by *U.S. News*, Rep. Tom Lantos said he would introduce legislation to tighten controls and ban the export of such devices to countries where governments engage in torture. He would prohibit overseas sales of equipment such as thumb cuffs, leg irons, and stun belts. "This is a horrifying spectacle," says Lantos, a California Democrat and Holocaust survivor. "These are singularly unsavory governments that do not share our human-rights concerns." The European Union is considering similar export controls.

Horrors. The practice of torture is widespread, even in countries that are close American allies, such as NATO member Turkey. That country has been cited by the State Department for a host of horrific practices, including administering electric shock, dangling victims by their arms, and hanging sandbags on prisoners' necks. Nevertheless, the Commerce Department approved three licenses for exports of stun devices to Turkey in 2001. Human-rights activists are outraged. "How could the United States possibly grant an export for electroshock equipment transfers to Turkey," wonders Maureen Greenwood of Amnesty International, "when the State Department, Amnesty International, and Turkish parliamentarians have all reported a pattern of torture including electric shock?"

Taser stun guns deliver 50,000 volts.

The answer: The Commerce Department has become little more than a rubber stamp for the more than 60 American companies looking to ship devices overseas. In addition to approving exports of electric-shock weapons, Commerce also signed off on the sale of restraint devices—which could include thumb cuffs and leg irons—to countries where torture by authorities was reportedly widespread. These countries include Egypt, Indonesia, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela. It is difficult, however, to trace a specific device to a particular case of torture.

A U.S. company must apply to the Commerce Department for a license if it wants to export certain crime control

FROM TOP: PAOLO PELLEGRIN—MAGNUM; TASER INTERNATIONAL

equipment to any country except Canada. Prior to 2000, licenses were not required for some close allies, including Turkey. The department's "general policy" when enforcing the Export Administration Act is to deny applications for export to countries where there is a pattern of gross human-rights violations. Commerce also states that it does not look favorably on an application if there is civil disorder in the country.

U.S. officials say all license applications and foreign importers are carefully screened by the department as well as by other government agencies. "The Departments of Commerce and State, and in some instances Defense, review the proposed export—the item, the end user, and the country of destination—to decide the likelihood that an item will be used properly or misused," says Matthew Borman, a Commerce Department official.

Critics are also concerned about companies that try to export without a license. *U.S. News* found that a handful of small companies freely advertise on Web sites ways to circumvent export rules for stun guns. The department requires companies to obtain licenses to export the components of shock weapons. But businesses such as *SelfDefence.com* will sell a stun gun "kit," in which the parts are shipped separately. The Web site declares: "We have been highly successful in clearing them through foreign customs." Lee Norris runs the company out of his home with his wife in rural Browntown, Va. He says the kits are legal to export. "It's funny how those laws work," says Norris. Commerce officials, alerted to the practice by *U.S. News*, weren't amused—and promise to investigate.

Jolt. Companies argue that the restraints and shock devices are standard police gear and that they cannot be held responsible if the equipment is misused. Tom Smith, the president and cofounder of Taser International, says he and his brother, Rick, started selling stun equipment to help stop gun violence. Two of Rick Smith's high school friends were gunned down in a road-rage incident in Scottsdale, Ariz., Tom says. In 1994, the brothers began making stun devices—called tasers—later marketing them to police as "less lethal" alternatives to guns. The company's bestselling product fires two barbed darts up to 21 feet and jolts its target with 50,000 volts of electricity. A person at the receiving end is immobilized for several seconds. Police departments in cities like Phoenix, Seattle, and Los Angeles are customers. Company revenues hit $9.8 million in 2002, up from $6.9 million the year before. Total exports of shock weapons and restraints approved by the United States in 2002 were worth $19 million, according to Commerce.

The Scottsdale-based company has exported tasers to 59 countries. Several have been cited for torture by the State Department, including India, Peru, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey. "There is no proof our products are used to torture people," says Smith. In June, Taser closed a deal to sell more than 3,300 tasers worth $1.5 million to the United Arab Emirates Armed Forces; that country hasn't been cited for torture.

Human-rights advocates admit that security weapons have legitimate uses. But the devices can be misused, too, says Allen Keller, a medical doctor and director of the Bellevue/NYU Program for Survivors of Torture. "How can one ensure that these won't be used to torture someone?" Keller asks. His clinic has treated more than 1,000 torture victims, including some from countries where the Commerce Department approved licenses.

It's virtually impossible to say if a specific shipment of stun guns or leg shackles from the United States was later used for torture. Many countries export such devices. For proprietary reasons, the Commerce Department does not reveal the names of U.S. companies that receive licenses, or their customers. But critics warn that U.S. exports—even legitimate ones—could easily fall into the wrong hands without tighter enforcement. For instance, handcuffs made by Peerless Handcuff, a Springfield, Mass., company, were found in a Lebanese prison in 2000, according to Amnesty International. The company says it does not export to Lebanon. Amnesty reports that Smith & Wesson handcuffs were found to have been used in 1999 to torture detainees in Saudi Arabia.

Most of the time, though, no one knows who manufactured the tools of torture. In August 2002, Turkish police in the town of Hakkari reportedly blindfolded 28-year-old Zahide Durgun, tortured her with electric shocks to the ear, and beat her, according to Amnesty International. The police wanted Durgun, an ethnic Kurd, to say she belonged to a political party opposed to the Turkish government. Another Kurdish woman, Sukriye Beyter, was blindfolded and shocked days later at the same police station, according to Amnesty. These victims couldn't possibly be expected to be sure what device was used to make them suffer—or whether the implements of torture were made in America. ●

TURNING A BLIND EYE

The Commerce Department granted licenses to U.S. companies exporting shock weapons and restraints to countries cited by the State Department for torture.

	2001	2002
Argentina	3	1
Azerbaijan		1
Bahrain		1
Bangladesh		2
Bolivia	2	1
Brazil	3	3
Cambodia	1	
Colombia	4	1
Dominican Republic	4	4
Ecuador	5	5
Egypt		1
Guatemala	12	4
Haiti	2	2
Honduras	2	2
India	1	2
Indonesia	3	2
Israel	9	
Jordan	1	1
Kenya		1
Lebanon		2
Macedonia		1
Malaysia	1	1
Mexico	26	8
Morocco		1
Mozambique		1
Namibia		1
Nicaragua	4	
Nigeria		1
Paraguay	1	
Peru	10	2
Philippines	1	2
Russia	1	
Saudi Arabia	2	7
South Africa	4	2
Sri Lanka		1
Tunisia	2	
Turkey	3	
Venezuela	11	19
Yemen		1
TOTALS	**118**	**84**

Total export applications for electric shock devices and restraints, 2001-2002: 534
Approved: 518
Denied: 16

Total applications for countries cited for torture: 214
Approved: 202
Denied: 12

Sources: Commerce Department export licenses, State Department

USN&WR

NOTES FROM THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

Who let the dogs out?

BY ROGER SIMON

Politicians often regret their campaign promises. Upon calm reflection, George H. W. Bush might have wanted to say, "Read my lips, no new taxes—unless the country really, really needs them to reduce the deficit."

And Arnold Schwarzenegger, who takes over as California's 38th governor this week, probably wishes he had adopted the "Dee Snider defense" in the face of accusations that Schwarzenegger has groped at least 15 women over the years. Snider, lead singer for Twisted Sister, whose 1984 hit "We're Not Gonna Take It" became Schwarzenegger's campaign anthem, said, "The fact is, men are dogs. If we took all the dogs out of jobs of importance, we'd have a lot of empty offices."

Instead, two days before the recall election that transformed him from a Hollywood superstar to a Sacramento superstar, Schwarzenegger did an interview with NBC's Tom Brokaw in order to put the groping allegations to rest. Instead, Schwarzenegger continued their life cycle.

The key exchange was this one:

BROKAW: Governor [Gray] Davis is saying today that you have an obligation to answer specifically the charges that have been made against you by 15 women now. You either have to call those women and their families liars, or give specific responses to the charges that they have made. Are you prepared to do that?

SCHWARZENEGGER: Governor Davis owes the people of California an apology for what he has done to this state. He owes them an explanation. He should talk to the people of California because what he has done to this state is terrible.

BROKAW: But you're not going to be any more specific about these charges, in terms of your denials?

SCHWARZENEGGER: As soon as the campaign is over, I will.

Two days later, the campaign ended with a Schwarzenegger victory, but he didn't seem all that eager to make good on his campaign promise.

At his first press conference, Schwarzenegger didn't raise the matter (nor did any of the hundreds of reporters in the room). But he did make an interesting plea. "Please do me a favor," Schwarzenegger said to the reporters. "Stay with me the next three years, because you are absolutely essential for me to get my message out there. I really appreciate your being a part of this campaign."

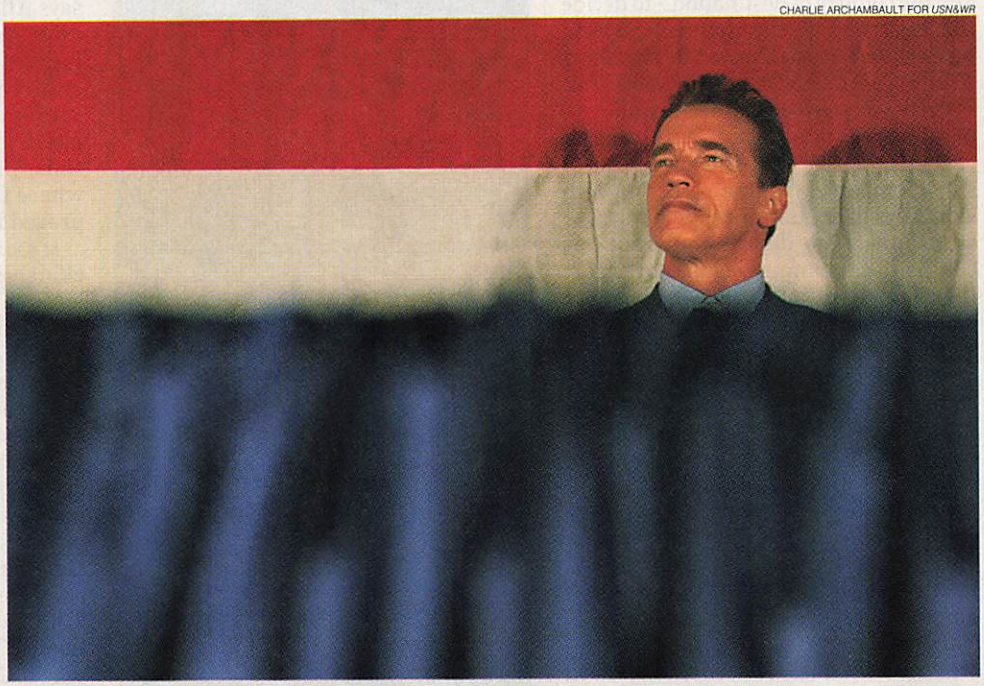
Perhaps Schwarzenegger's assumption that the press was "part" of his campaign was enough to awaken some reporters, because the next day at a press conference, a reporter asked Schwarzenegger when he would make good on his promise to provide more specifics about the groping charges.

"Old news," Schwarzenegger said tersely.

Not to Garry Trudeau, creator of *Doonesbury*, it isn't. Trudeau has done strip after strip portraying Schwarzenegger as a giant groping hand. And California Attorney General Bill Lockyer, who appears to have been on every possible side of the issue, has also kept it going. On the last day of the recall campaign, Lockyer, a Democrat, said that even though the statute of limitations had run out on bringing criminal charges against Schwarzenegger for his behavior, "Arnold should volunteer" for an "investigation to clear up these charges." Said Lockyer, "There's too many of them. They're disturbing; the volume is disturbing." After Schwarzenegger won, however, Lockyer said he had voted for Schwarzenegger. "I'm convinced Arnold didn't really understand that he was caught up in frat-boy behavior," Lockyer said.

Two weeks ago, however, Lockyer gave a radio interview saying he had met with Schwarzenegger and told him "some form of

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR *USN&WR*



GOVERNOR. Schwarzenegger takes over this week while still dealing with allegations of groping.

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independent, third-party review of those [groping] complaints" was needed "to see if there's any criminal liability or not." Schwarzenegger was furious, and his spokesman made the somewhat curious claim that Lockyer had violated "attorney-client" privilege by divulging "the content of communication between himself and the governor-elect." Under California law, Schwarzenegger's spokesman said, "the attorney general is the governor's lawyer."

At the time, however, Schwarzenegger was not governor, nor had the recall vote even been certified. No matter, the spokesman said, Lockyer had violated the privilege, and even though Schwarzenegger had decided "to engage a well-respected investigative firm to look into the allegations," he now might not turn the results over to Lockyer.

Lockyer, who may run for governor in 2006, soon struck back, saying someone had come to him two days before the election with information that Schwarzenegger may have groped someone last year during the filming of *Terminator 3*. Lockyer also suggested that a toll-free 800 number be established so that anyone with complaints against Schwarzenegger could call in.

But (800) THE-GROPINATOR will not fit.

WHY CAN'T GENERALS JUST GET ALONG?

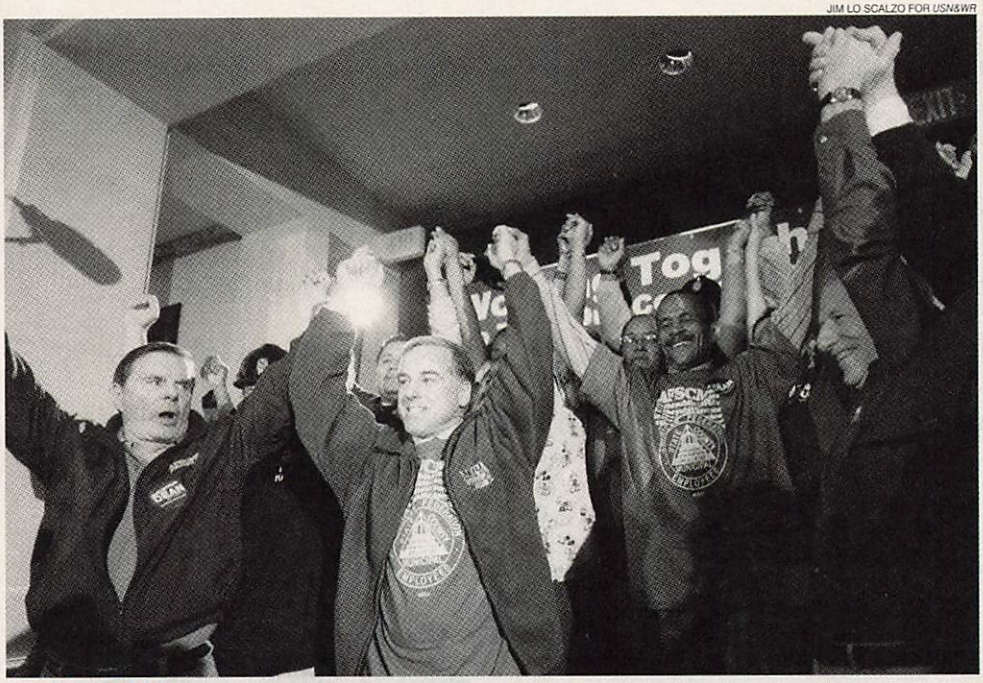
When at a forum in September, retired Gen. Hugh Shelton was asked if he would support retired Gen. Wesley Clark for president, Shelton, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, quickly took a drink of water. "That question makes me wish it were vodka," Shelton said. "I've known Wes for a long time. I will tell you the reason he came out of Europe early had to do with integrity and character issues, things that are very near and dear to my heart. I'm not going to say whether I'm a Republican or a Democrat. I'll just say Wes won't get my vote."

Which was bad enough, but on November 6, retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf appeared on CNBC's *Capital Report,* hosted by Gloria Borger and Alan Murray, who asked him what he thought of Clark. "I think the greatest condemnation against him . . . came from the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff when he was a NATO commander. I mean, he was fired as a NATO commander," Schwarzkopf replied, "and when Hugh Shelton said he was fired because of matters of character and integrity, that is a very, very damning statement, which says, 'If that's the case, he's not the right man for president,' as far as I'm concerned."

Shelton has refused to expand on his remarks, and Schwarzkopf isn't providing details, either. So Clark was understandably miffed when he responded on the campaign trail the next day: "I haven't talked to General Schwarzkopf since 1991, when I interviewed him in his headquarters about what he liked and didn't like about the Army. He left the Army shortly after that; haven't seen him in 12 years. He didn't ask me anything about it. So he's certainly entitled to his opinion, but I think America should hold people to a high standard."

We are not sure exactly what that means, but for now we are not inviting any of these guys to the same party.

JIM LO SCALZO FOR USN&WR



CHAMP'S POSE. Howard Dean picked up two union endorsements last week as John Kerry stumbled.

WHAT, HIM WORRIED?

Way back in January, John Kerry looked like the candidate with everything: He had the money; he had the staff; he had the Vietnam service. He had the hair, he had the voice, and if you had to pick a Democratic front-runner, you pretty much had to pick him.

Today, however, Kerry is trying to persuade the media he doesn't have a one-way ticket to Palookaville. Last week, he fired his campaign manager, his press secretary quit, and former Vermont Gov. Howard Dean continues to hold a big lead in Kerry's "must win" state of New Hampshire.

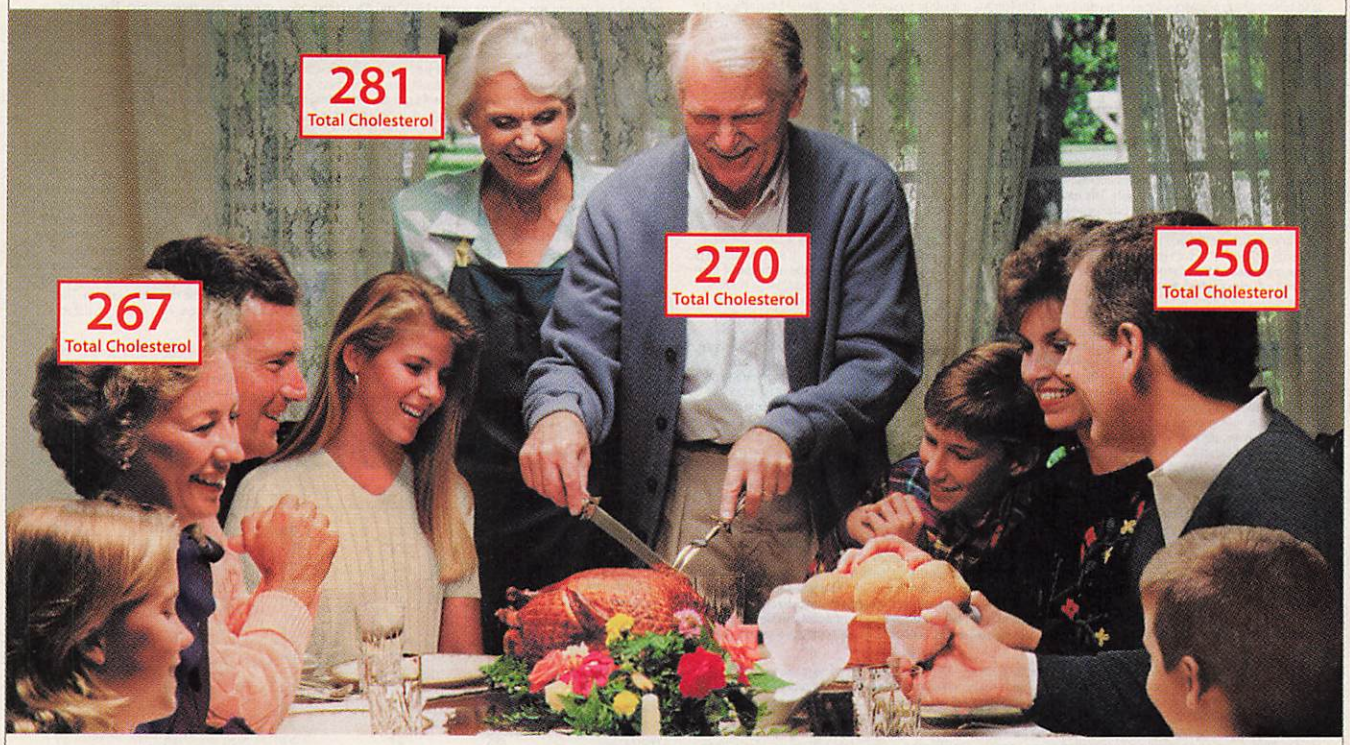
At times like these, candidates have just one thing to fall back on: optimism. "We're on the move; stay tuned," Kerry told reporters during a nature walk along the Merrimack River in Litchfield, N.H. "I think we are just doing fantastically."

True, Dean has raised more money; true, Dean has just received the endorsement of the two largest unions in the AFL-CIO; and true, the media are on a "Dean is unstoppable" kick, but Kerry isn't worried.

"This is like Grady Little and Pedro [Martinez], and I made the move that he didn't," Kerry said for the benefit of all those who follow baseball. "But we're still going to win the World Series. You watch."

We will. And we will keep in mind that good hitting always beats good pitching. And vice versa. ●

Some family traditions we can live without.



Take high cholesterol. Anyone can have it. Here's something else you might not know. About one-fifth of your cholesterol comes from what you eat. That's because high cholesterol often has as much to do with family genes as food. So, even if you diet and exercise you may need some help to lower it. The good news is that adding LIPITOR can help. It can lower your total cholesterol 29% to 45%.* And it can lower your bad cholesterol 39% to 60%.* (*The average effect depends on the dose.) Ask your doctor if it's right for you. Of all cholesterol medicines, doctors prescribe LIPITOR the most. Learn more. Call us at 1-888-LIPITOR or find us on the web at www.lipitor.com.

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Important information:

LIPITOR® (atorvastatin calcium) is a prescription drug used with diet to lower cholesterol. LIPITOR is not for everyone, including those with liver disease or possible liver problems, women who are nursing, pregnant, or may become pregnant. LIPITOR has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

If you take LIPITOR, tell your doctor about any unusual muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of serious side effects. It is important to tell your doctor about any medications you are currently taking to avoid possible serious drug interactions. Your doctor may do simple blood tests to monitor liver function before and during drug treatment. The most commonly reported side effects are gas, constipation, stomach pain and indigestion. They are usually mild and tend to go away.

Please see additional important information on next page.

LIPITOR® (Atorvastatin Calcium) Tablets

Brief Summary of Prescribing Information

CONTRAINDICATIONS: Active liver disease or unexplained persistent elevations of serum transaminases. Hypersensitivity to any component of this medication. **Pregnancy and Lactation** — Atherosclerosis is a chronic process and discontinuation of lipid-lowering drugs during pregnancy should have little impact on the outcome of long-term therapy of primary hypercholesterolemia. Cholesterol and other products of cholesterol biosynthesis are essential components for fetal development (including synthesis of steroids and cell membranes). Since HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors decrease cholesterol synthesis and possibly the synthesis of other biologically active substances derived from cholesterol, they may cause fetal harm when administered to pregnant women. Therefore, HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors are contraindicated during pregnancy and in nursing mothers. ATORVASTATIN SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED TO WOMEN OF CHILDBEARING AGE ONLY WHEN SUCH PATIENTS ARE HIGHLY UNLIKELY TO CONCEIVE AND HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE POTENTIAL HAZARDS. If the patient becomes pregnant while taking this drug, therapy should be discontinued and the patient apprised of the potential hazard to the fetus.

WARNINGS: Liver Dysfunction — HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors, like some other lipid-lowering therapies, have been associated with biochemical abnormalities of liver function. **Persistent elevations (>3 times the upper limit of normal [ULN] occurring on 2 or more occasions) in serum transaminases occurred in 0.7% of patients who received atorvastatin in clinical trials. The incidence of these abnormalities was 0.2%, 0.2%, 0.6%, and 2.3% for 10, 20, 40, and 80 mg, respectively.** One patient in clinical trials developed jaundice. Increases in liver function tests (LFT) in other patients were not associated with jaundice or other clinical signs or symptoms. Upon dose reduction, drug interruption, or discontinuation, transaminase levels returned to or near pretreatment levels without sequelae. Eighteen of 30 patients with persistent LFT elevations continued treatment with a reduced dose of atorvastatin. It is **recommended that liver function tests be performed prior to and at 12 weeks following both the initiation of therapy and any elevation of dose, and periodically (eg, semiannually) thereafter.** Liver enzyme changes generally occur in the first 3 months of treatment with atorvastatin. Patients who develop increased transaminase levels should be monitored until the abnormalities resolve. Should an increase in ALT or AST of >3 times ULN persist, reduction of dose or withdrawal of atorvastatin is recommended. Atorvastatin should be used with caution in patients who consume substantial quantities of alcohol and/or have a history of liver disease. Active liver disease or unexplained persistent transaminase elevations are contraindications to the use of atorvastatin (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). **Skeletal Muscle — Rare cases of rhabdomyolysis with acute renal failure secondary to myoglobinuria have been reported with atorvastatin and with other drugs in this class.** Uncomplicated myalgia has been reported in atorvastatin-treated patients (see ADVERSE REACTIONS). Myopathy, defined as muscle aches or muscle weakness in conjunction with increases in creatine phosphokinase (CPK) values >10 times ULN, should be considered in any patient with diffuse myalgias, muscle tenderness or weakness, and/or marked elevation of CPK. Patients should be advised to report promptly unexplained muscle pain, tenderness or weakness, particularly if accompanied by malaise or fever. Atorvastatin therapy should be discontinued if markedly elevated CPK levels occur or myopathy is diagnosed or suspected. The risk of myopathy during treatment with drugs in this class is increased with concurrent administration of cyclosporine, fibric acid derivatives, erythromycin, niacin, or azole antifungals. Physicians considering combined therapy with atorvastatin and fibric acid derivatives, erythromycin, immunosuppressive drugs, azole antifungals, or lipid-lowering doses of niacin should carefully weigh the potential benefits and risks and should carefully monitor patients for any signs or symptoms of muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly during the initial months of therapy and during any periods of upward dosage titration of either drug. Periodic creatine phosphokinase (CPK) determinations may be considered in such situations, but there is no assurance that such monitoring will prevent the occurrence of severe myopathy. **Atorvastatin therapy should be temporarily withheld or discontinued in any patient with an acute, serious condition suggestive of a myopathy or having a risk factor predisposing to the development of renal failure secondary to rhabdomyolysis (eg, severe acute infection, hypotension, major surgery, trauma, severe metabolic, endocrine and electrolyte disorders, and uncontrolled seizures).**

PRECAUTIONS: General — Before instituting therapy with atorvastatin, an attempt should be made to control hypercholesterolemia with appropriate diet, exercise, and weight reduction in obese patients, and to treat other underlying medical problems (see INDICATIONS AND USAGE in full prescribing information). **Information for Patients** — Patients should be advised to report promptly unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, particularly if accompanied by malaise or fever. **Drug Interactions** — The risk of myopathy during treatment with drugs of this class is increased with concurrent administration of cyclosporine, fibric acid derivatives, niacin (nicotinic acid), erythromycin, azole antifungals (see WARNINGS, Skeletal Muscle). ***Antacid:*** When atorvastatin and Maalox® TC suspension were coadministered, plasma concentrations of atorvastatin decreased approximately 35%. However, LDL-C reduction was not altered. ***Antipyrine:*** Because atorvastatin does not affect the pharmacokinetics of antipyrine, interactions with other drugs metabolized via the same cytochrome isozymes are not expected. ***Colestipol:*** Plasma concentrations of atorvastatin decreased approximately 25% when colestipol and atorvastatin were coadministered. However, LDL-C reduction was greater when atorvastatin and colestipol were coadministered than when either drug was given alone. ***Cimetidine:*** Atorvastatin plasma concentrations and LDL-C reduction were not altered by coadministration of cimetidine. ***Digoxin:*** When multiple doses of atorvastatin and digoxin were coadministered, steady-state plasma digoxin concentrations increased by approximately 20%. Patients taking digoxin should be monitored appropriately. ***Erythromycin:*** In healthy individuals, plasma concentrations of atorvastatin increased approximately 40% with coadministration of atorvastatin and erythromycin, a known inhibitor of cytochrome P450 3A4 (see WARNINGS, Skeletal Muscle). ***Oral Contraceptives:*** Coadministration of atorvastatin and an oral contraceptive increased AUC values for norethindrone and ethinyl estradiol by approximately 30% and 20%. These increases should be considered when selecting an oral contraceptive for a woman taking atorvastatin. ***Warfarin:*** Atorvastatin had no clinically significant effect on prothrombin time when administered to patients receiving chronic warfarin treatment. **Endocrine Function** — HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors interfere with cholesterol synthesis and theoretically might blunt adrenal and/or gonadal steroid production. Clinical studies have shown that atorvastatin does not reduce basal plasma cortisol concentration or impair adrenal reserve. The effects of HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors on male fertility have not been studied in adequate numbers of patients. The effects, if any, on the pituitary-gonadal axis in premenopausal women are unknown. Caution should be exercised if an HMG-CoA reductase inhibitor is administered concomitantly with drugs that may decrease the levels or activity of endogenous steroid hormones, such as ketoconazole, spironolactone, and cimetidine. **CNS Toxicity** — Brain hemorrhage was seen in a female dog treated for 3 months at 120 mg/kg/day. Brain hemorrhage and optic nerve vacuolation were seen in another female dog that was sacrificed in moribund condition after 11 weeks of escalating doses up to 280 mg/kg/day. The 120 mg/kg dose resulted in a systemic exposure approximately 16 times the human plasma area-under-the-curve (AUC, 0-24 hours) based on the maximum human dose of 80 mg/day. A single tonic convulsion was seen in each of 2 male dogs (one treated at 10 mg/kg/day and one at 120 mg/kg/day) in a 2-year study. No CNS lesions have been observed in mice after chronic treatment for up to 2 years at doses up to 400 mg/kg/day or in rats at doses up to 100 mg/kg/day. These doses were 6 to 11 times (mouse) and 8 to 16 times (rat) the human AUC (0-24) based on the maximum recommended human dose of 80 mg/day. CNS vascular lesions, characterized by perivascular hemorrhages, edema, and mononuclear cell infiltration of perivascular spaces, have been observed in dogs treated with other members of this class. A chemically similar drug in this class produced optic nerve degeneration (Wallerian degeneration of retinogeniculate fibers) in clinically normal dogs in a dose-dependent fashion at a dose that produced plasma drug levels about 30 times higher than the mean drug level in humans taking the highest recommended dose. **Carcinogenesis, Mutagenesis, Impairment of Fertility** — In a 2-year carcinogenicity study in rats at dose levels of 10, 30, and 100 mg/kg/day, 2 rare tumors were found in muscle in high-dose females: in one, there was a rhabdomyosarcoma and, in another, there was a fibrosarcoma. This dose represents a plasma AUC (0-24) value of approximately 16 times the mean human plasma drug exposure after an 80 mg oral dose. A 2-year carcinogenicity study in mice given 100, 200, or 400 mg/kg/day resulted in a significant increase in liver adenomas in high-dose males and liver carcinomas in high-dose females. These findings occurred at plasma AUC (0-24) values of approximately 6 times the mean human plasma drug exposure after an 80 mg oral dose. *In vitro*, atorvastatin was not mutagenic or clastogenic in the following tests with and without metabolic activation: the Ames test with *Salmonella typhimurium* and *Escherichia coli*, the HGPRT forward mutation assay in Chinese hamster lung cells, and the chromosomal aberration assay in Chinese hamster lung cells. Atorvastatin was negative in the *in vivo* mouse micronucleus test. Studies in rats performed at doses up to 175 mg/kg (15 times the human exposure) produced no changes in fertility. There was aplasia and aspermia in the epididymis of 2 of 10 rats treated with 100 mg/kg/day of atorvastatin for 3 months (16 times the human AUC at the 80 mg dose); testis weights were significantly lower at 30 and 100 mg/kg and epididymal weight was lower at 100 mg/kg. Male rats given 100 mg/kg/day for 11 weeks prior to mating had decreased sperm motility, spermatid head concentration, and increased abnormal sperm. Atorvastatin caused no adverse effects on semen parameters, or reproductive organ histopathology in dogs given doses of 10, 40, or 120 mg/kg for two years. **Pregnancy — Pregnancy Category X: See CONTRAINDICATIONS.** Safety in pregnant women has not been established. Atorvastatin crosses the rat placenta and reaches a level in fetal liver equivalent to that of maternal plasma. Atorvastatin was not teratogenic in rats at doses up to 300 mg/kg/day or in rabbits at doses up to 100 mg/kg/day. These doses resulted in multiples of about 30 times (rat) or 20 times (rabbit) the human exposure based on surface area (mg/m^2). In a study in rats given 20, 100, or 225 mg/kg/day, from gestation day 7 through to lactation day 21 (weaning), there was decreased pup survival at birth, neonate, weaning, and maturity in pups of mothers dosed with 225 mg/kg/day. Body weight was decreased on days 4 and 21 in pups of mothers dosed at 100 mg/kg/day; pup body weight was decreased at birth and at days 4, 21, and 91 at 225 mg/kg/day. Pup development was delayed (rotorod performance at 100 mg/kg/day and acoustic startle at 225 mg/kg/day; pinnae detachment and eye opening at 225 mg/kg/day). These doses correspond to 6 times (100 mg/kg) and 22 times (225 mg/kg) the human AUC at 80 mg/day. Rare reports of congenital anomalies have been received following intrauterine exposure to HMG-CoA reductase inhibitors. There has been one report of severe congenital bony deformity, tracheo-esophageal fistula, and anal atresia (VATER association) in a baby born to a woman who took lovastatin with dextroamphetamine sulfate during the first trimester of pregnancy. LIPITOR should be administered to women of child-bearing potential only when such patients are highly unlikely to conceive and have been informed of the potential hazards. If the woman becomes pregnant while taking LIPITOR, it should be discontinued and the patient advised again as to the potential hazards to the fetus. **Nursing Mothers** — Nursing rat pups had plasma and liver drug levels of 50% and 40%, respectively, of that in their mother's milk. Because of the potential for adverse reactions in nursing infants, women taking LIPITOR should not breast-feed (see CONTRAINDICATIONS). **Pediatric Use** — Safety and effectiveness in patients 10-17 years of age with heterozygous familial hypercholesterolemia have been evaluated in controlled clinical trials of 6 months duration in adolescent boys and postmenarchal girls. Patients treated with LIPITOR had an adverse experience profile generally similar to that of patients treated with placebo, the most common adverse experiences observed in both groups, regardless of causality assessment, were infections. **Doses greater than 20 mg have not been studied in this patient population.** In this limited controlled study, there was no detectable effect on growth or sexual maturation in boys or on menstrual cycle length in girls. See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies section* in full prescribing information; ADVERSE REACTIONS, *Pediatric Patients*; and DOSAGE AND ADMINISTRATION, *Pediatric patients (10-17 years of age) with Heterozygous Familial Hypercholesterolemia* in full prescribing information. Adolescent females should be counseled on appropriate contraceptive methods while on LIPITOR therapy (see CONTRAINDICATIONS and PRECAUTIONS, *Pregnancy*). **LIPITOR has not been studied in controlled clinical trials involving pre-pubertal patients or patients younger than 10 years of age.** Clinical efficacy with doses up to 80 mg/day for 1 year have been evaluated in an uncontrolled study of patients with homozygous FH including 8 pediatric patients. See CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies in Homozygous Familial Hypercholesterolemia* in full prescribing information. **Geriatric Use** — The safety and efficacy of atorvastatin (10-80 mg) in the geriatric population (≥65 years of age) was evaluated in the ACCESS study. In this 54-week open-label trial 1,958 patients initiated therapy with atorvastatin 10 mg. Of these, 835 were elderly (≥65 years) and 1,123 were non-elderly. The mean change in LDL-C from baseline after 6 weeks of treatment with atorvastatin 10 mg was -38.2% in the elderly patients versus -34.6% in the non-elderly group. The rates of discontinuation due to adverse events were similar between the two age groups. There were no differences in clinically relevant laboratory abnormalities between the age groups.

ADVERSE REACTIONS: LIPITOR is generally well-tolerated. Adverse reactions have usually been mild and transient. In controlled clinical studies of 2502 patients, <2% of patients were discontinued due to adverse experiences attributable to atorvastatin. The most frequent adverse events thought to be related to atorvastatin were constipation, flatulence, dyspepsia, and abdominal pain. **Clinical Adverse Experiences** — Adverse experiences reported in ≥2% of patients in placebo-controlled clinical studies of atorvastatin, regardless of causality assessment, are shown in the following table.

Adverse Events in Placebo-Controlled Studies (% of Patients)

BODY SYSTEM Adverse Event	Placebo N = 270	Atorvastatin 10 mg N = 863	Atorvastatin 20 mg N = 36	Atorvastatin 40 mg N = 79	Atorvastatin 80 mg N = 94
BODY AS A WHOLE					
Infection	10.0	10.3	2.8	10.1	7.4
Headache	7.0	5.4	16.7	2.5	6.4
Accidental Injury	3.7	4.2	0.0	1.3	3.2
Flu Syndrome	1.9	2.2	0.0	2.5	3.2
Abdominal Pain	0.7	2.8	0.0	3.8	2.1
Back Pain	3.0	2.8	0.0	3.8	1.1
Allergic Reaction	2.6	0.9	2.8	1.3	0.0
Asthenia	1.9	2.2	0.0	3.8	0.0
DIGESTIVE SYSTEM					
Constipation	1.8	2.1	0.0	2.5	1.1
Diarrhea	1.5	2.7	0.0	3.8	5.3
Dyspepsia	4.1	2.3	2.8	1.3	2.1
Flatulence	3.3	2.1	2.8	1.3	1.1
RESPIRATORY SYSTEM					
Sinusitis	2.6	2.8	0.0	2.5	6.4
Pharyngitis	1.5	2.5	0.0	1.3	2.1
SKIN AND APPENDAGES					
Rash	0.7	3.9	2.8	3.8	1.1
MUSCULOSKELETAL SYSTEM					
Arthralgia	1.5	2.0	0.0	5.1	0.0
Myalgia	1.1	3.2	5.6	1.3	0.0

The following adverse events were reported, regardless of causality assessment in patients treated with atorvastatin in clinical trials. The events in italics occurred in ≥2% of patients and the events in plain type occurred in <2% of patients.

Body as a Whole: *Chest pain*, face edema, fever, neck rigidity, malaise, photosensitivity reaction, generalized edema. ***Digestive System:*** *Nausea*, gastroenteritis, liver function tests abnormal, colitis, vomiting, gastritis, dry mouth, rectal hemorrhage, esophagitis, eructation, glossitis, mouth ulceration, anorexia, increased appetite, stomatitis, biliary pain, cheilitis, duodenal ulcer, dysphagia, enteritis, melena, gum hemorrhage, stomach ulcer, tenesmus, ulcerative stomatitis, hepatitis, pancreatitis, cholestatic jaundice. ***Respiratory System:*** *Bronchitis, rhinitis*, pneumonia, dyspnea, asthma, epistaxis. ***Nervous System:*** *Insomnia, dizziness*, paresthesia, somnolence, amnesia, abnormal dreams, libido decreased, emotional lability, incoordination, peripheral neuropathy, torticollis, facial paralysis, hyperkinesia, depression, hypesthesia, hypertonia. ***Musculoskeletal System:*** *Arthritis*, leg cramps, bursitis, tenosynovitis, myasthenia, tendinous contracture, myositis. ***Skin and Appendages:*** Pruritus, contact dermatitis, alopecia, dry skin, sweating, acne, urticaria, eczema, seborrhea, skin ulcer. ***Urogenital System:*** *Urinary tract infection*, urinary frequency, cystitis, hematuria, impotence, dysuria, kidney calculus, nocturia, epididymitis, fibrocystic breast, vaginal hemorrhage, albuminuria, breast enlargement, metrorrhagia, nephritis, urinary incontinence, urinary retention, urinary urgency, abnormal ejaculation, uterine hemorrhage. ***Special Senses:*** Amblyopia, tinnitus, dry eyes, refraction disorder, eye hemorrhage, deafness, glaucoma, parosmia, taste loss, taste perversion. ***Cardiovascular System:*** Palpitation, vasodilatation, syncope, migraine, postural hypotension, phlebitis, arrhythmia, angina pectoris, hypertension. ***Metabolic and Nutritional Disorders:*** *Peripheral edema*, hyperglycemia, creatine phosphokinase increased, gout, weight gain, hypoglycemia. ***Hemic and Lymphatic System:*** Ecchymosis, anemia, lymphadenopathy, thrombocytopenia, petechia. **Postintroduction Reports** — Adverse events associated with LIPITOR therapy reported since market introduction, that are not listed above, regardless of causality assessment, include the following: anaphylaxis, angioneurotic edema, bullous rashes (including erythema multiforme, Stevens-Johnson syndrome, and toxic epidermal necrolysis), and rhabdomyolysis. **Pediatric Patients (ages 10-17 years)** In a 26-week controlled study in boys and postmenarchal girls (n=140), the safety and tolerability profile of LIPITOR 10 to 20 mg daily was generally similar to that of placebo (see CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY, *Clinical Studies section* in full prescribing information and PRECAUTIONS, *Pediatric Use*).

OVERDOSAGE: There is no specific treatment for atorvastatin overdosage. In the event of an overdose, the patient should be treated symptomatically, and supportive measures instituted as required. Due to extensive drug binding to plasma proteins, hemodialysis is not expected to significantly enhance atorvastatin clearance.

Please see full prescribing information for additional information about LIPITOR.

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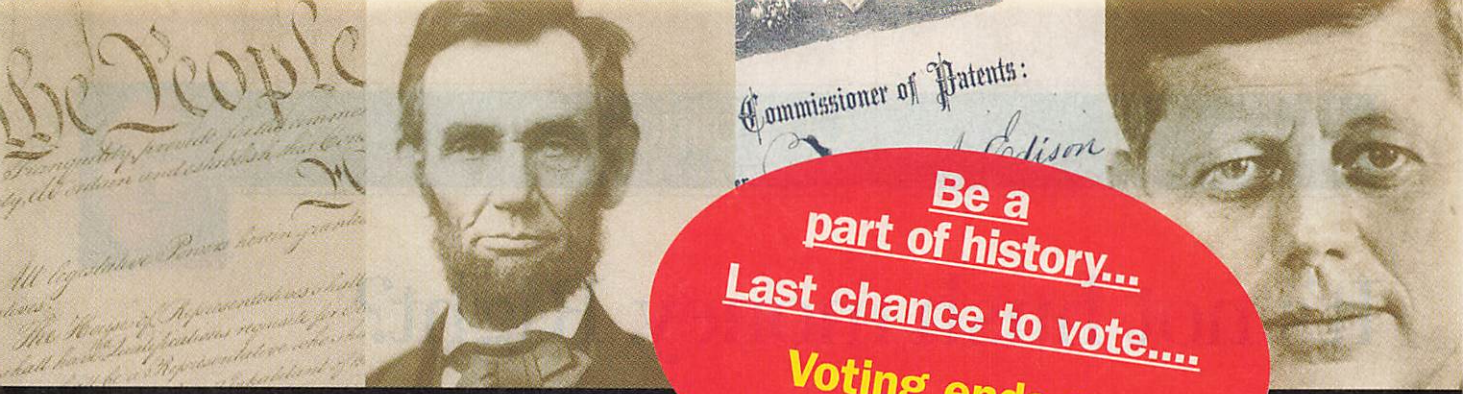

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IT'S WAY BEYOND GETTING EVEN. "We're fighting for our lives right now," says a Democratic strategist not normally prone to hyperbole. "This is the worst I've ever seen it. These Republicans have gone so far that if we play patty-cake, we will die."

And he's a moderate.

So when billionaire financier George Soros decides to make defeating President Bush "the central focus of my life," as he told the *Washington Post* last week, Democrats, understandably, are overjoyed. Soros has forked over more than $15 million to the cause so far. But what happens when he compares Bush's wartime rhetoric to that of the Nazis? "When I hear Bush say, 'You're either with us or against us,' " Soros said, "it reminds me of the Germans." Did any Democrat publicly disown the language or the thought? Nope.

Even worse, some *agreed* with Soros, albeit not for attribution. "I'm not sure I disagree with him," says a Democrat who has benefited from the Soros checkbook. "I'm not going to second-guess someone like Soros who has lived through the Holocaust." Please. George W. Bush as Hitler? Get a grip.

What's going on? Here's what: Politics today are as polarized as they were prior to the 1994 elections that gave the Republicans and Newt Gingrich control of the Congress. Even worse, according to the Pew Research Center, rank-and-file Democrats loathe George Bush now as much as Republicans despised Bill Clinton during the Lewinsky mess. In September 1998, 51 percent of all Republicans strongly disapproved of President Clinton; today, 48 percent of all Democrats feel exactly the same way about President Bush.

Given the intensity of feeling, the fighting-back part is easy to understand. Sure, Democrats should find a way to match the GOP think tanks and message machines. "There's an imbalance in the debate," says former Clinton Chief of Staff John Podesta, who runs the new Center for American Progress, with the help of $3 million from Soros. And yes, if Republicans can take money from the controversial conservative Richard Mellon Scaife (who donated $2.3 million to a conservative magazine to dig up dirt on Clinton), then Democrats can surely look to Soros for handouts.

But giving Soros a pass on his inflammatory rhetoric is dangerous, although Democrats, evidently, don't see it that way. This is about winning a war, they explain—a war in which Republicans plan to take no prisoners. "They don't accept the legitimacy of political opposition," sniffs a Democratic strategist, complaining about Republican strong-arm tactics on Texas redistricting. "These people will do anything to gain and hold power. So I'm not exactly feeling full of ethical scruples as we fight for survival." Whoa. What else are we in for?

End runs. Just watch the money. In this post-campaign-finance-reform world, the millions from fat cats like Soros and Scaife can't be donated directly to the political parties. So the big money is going to organizations instead: think tanks, like Podesta's group. Or voter-registration groups, like America Coming Together, to which Soros has pledged $10 million. Or an activist Internet group like *MoveOn.org*, to which Soros and a partner will give up to $5 million. The Republicans are doing the same thing, of course. "We have to watch all of this and make sure people are not breaking the law," says Fred Wertheimer of the watchdog group Democracy 21. "There is so much intensity, so much dislike of Bush on the Democratic side, they will mobilize all kinds of efforts." That's putting it mildly.

Wertheimer, who was around for the polarizing Nixon and Gingrich years, says he's never seen anything like this. "The bitterness and divisiveness," he says, "have reached some sort of culmination point."

Look at it this way: In 1994, when the Republicans took over Congress, they had some legitimate complaints about Democratic arrogance. Now, the Democrats have good gripes about the way Republicans have been governing.

Sad to say, it's going to be an ugly war. Just ask Soros. The 2004 presidential race is, he says, "a matter of life and death." And who would dare to disagree with George Soros? ●

Gloria Borger is also the co-host of CNBC's Capital Report.

"Rank-and-file Democrats loathe George Bush now as much as Republicans despised Bill Clinton."

JAMES LEYNSE—CORBIS

BIG MONEY. Billionaire financier George Soros has spent more than $15 million so far on a mission to defeat George Bush.

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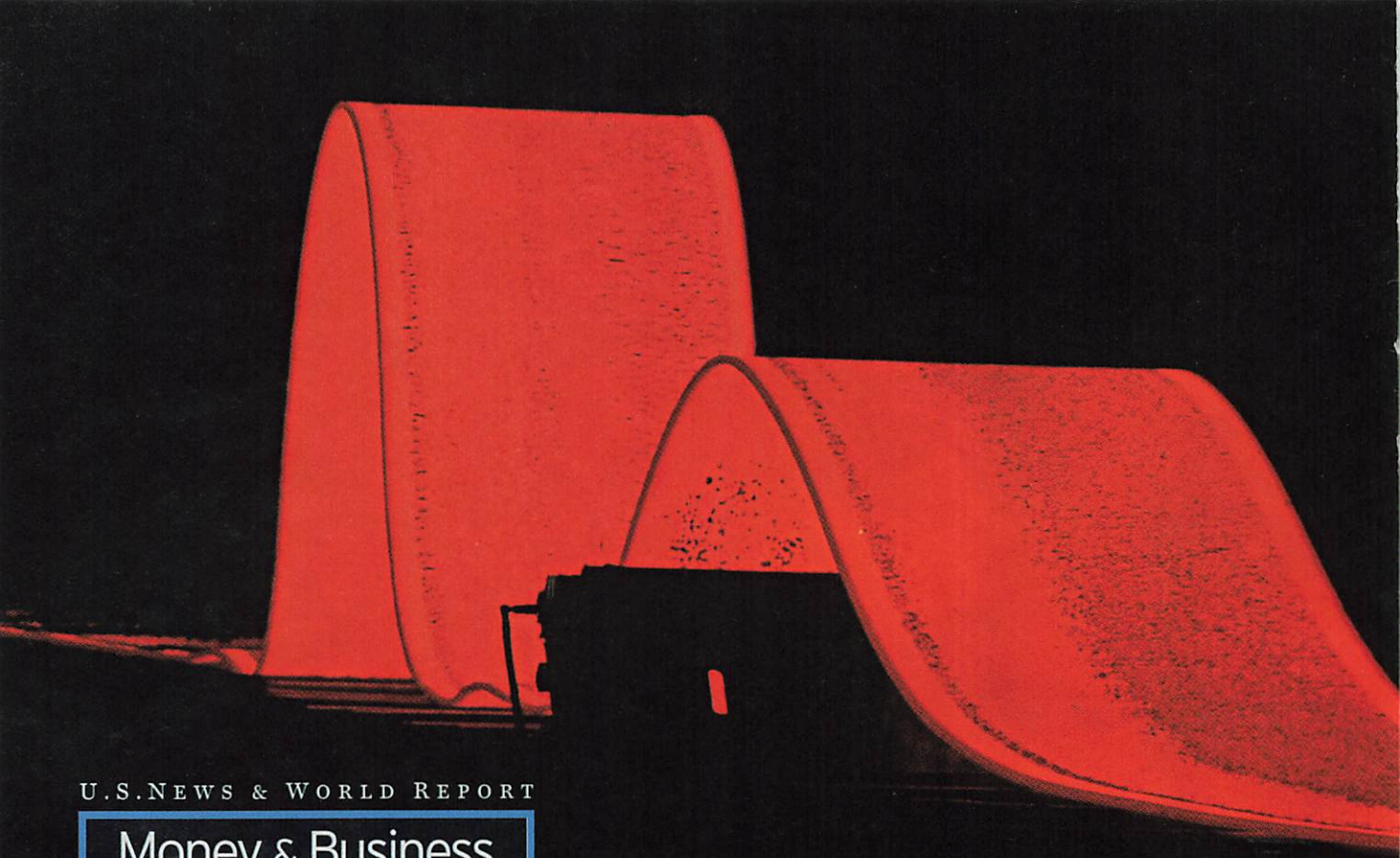


STEELING FOR A TRADE BATTLE

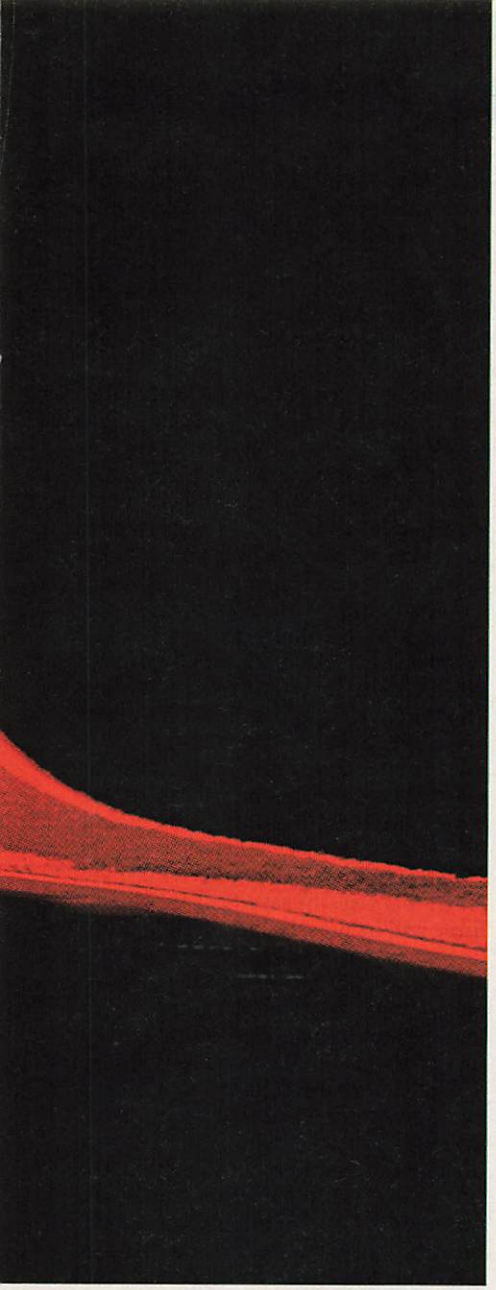
Bush faces a tough choice on whether to keep import tariffs

BY MATTHEW BENJAMIN

Yet another war looms for the United States and President Bush. It won't, however, be a war on terrorism or tyrants. And its weapons won't be tanks and fighter planes but Texas grapefruit and Ohio flat-rolled steel. Oddest of all, the enemy will be America's once steadfast ally, the European Union.

Last week's ruling by the World Trade Organization outlawing certain U.S. tariffs on imported steel cleared the way for the EU to retaliate, perhaps as soon as next month, with targeted tariffs of up to $2.2 billion on U.S. goods unless President Bush rescinds the tariffs immediately. The face-off would pit the two most important promoters of global trade and growth against each other in a tit for tat, reducing an already deteriorating free-trade movement to rubble. Says Charlene Barshefsky, trade representative in the Clinton administration: "U.S. leadership is now sorely needed on the road to free-trade agreements and global growth."

The key word being "now." This week, ministers from North and South American nations meet to discuss a pan-American free-trade region, called the Free Trade Area of the Americas (Page 42). Protests are planned, much like those that disrupted a September trade meeting in Cancún, Mexico, when efforts to bring rich and poor countries together on trade crashed and burned. The controversy over the steel tariffs adds fuel to a fire that has burned since Congress passed a subsidy-heavy farm bill in



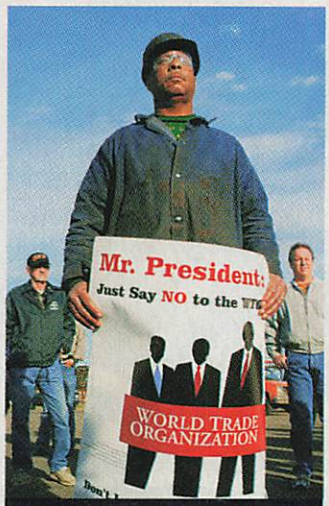
May 2002. Both, Barshefsky contends, undermine U.S. leadership on trade and will complicate future negotiations.

Politics, of course, complicates things further still. Bush imposed the steel tariffs in March 2002, fulfilling campaign promises to workers in West Virginia, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. (Bush won two of the three states in the 2000 election.) His rationale was that U.S. steelmakers needed temporary safeguards against a flood of cheap imports from Asia. He conditioned the tariffs on an industry restructuring, calling on management and labor to work together to make American steel competitive again.

It seems to have worked. Twenty months later, the industry has undergone mass consolidation—the four largest integrated steel manufacturers have become two—and the main steelworkers union has made significant concessions that reduce costs and improve productivity. About 16,000 steelworkers have been rehired so far, according to Peter Morici, a steel industry expert at the University of Maryland's Robert H. Smith School of Business, and several idled mills are back online. "The president instigated fundamental labor-management relations reform," says Morici.

Asset sale. The tariffs also attracted a badly needed infusion of capital, personified by distressed-asset investor Wilbur Ross. He created International Steel Group, now the nation's second-largest integrated steelmaker, by acquiring the assets (though not the huge pension liabilities) of three bankrupt mills—LTV Corp., Acme Steel, and Bethlehem Steel. "We never would have acquired those mills had the tariffs not been put in place," says Ross.

But the tariffs are not without their detractors. Steel users like Glenn Metalcraft, a Princeton, Minn., company that makes metal parts for large construction and farm equipment, paid the price. "Our steel prices went up 10 percent" as a result of the tariffs, says Vice President Joe Glenn. "That priced us out of the market on several products," with the business going to overseas firms, he says. The company has laid off 15 of its 50 workers as a result.



PROTEST. Steelworkers demonstrate their support for the continuation of tariffs on imported steel.

Retaliatory tariffs by the EU, while too small to have a broad effect on the U.S. economy, could hurt individual industries. Potential duties on citrus "would make it very tough for us to compete in Europe," says Ray Prewett, president of Texas Citrus Mutual, which represents citrus growers in southern Texas. Half of the grapefruit juice produced there is exported to Europe.

The EU tariffs would be targeted at congressional districts and sensitive industries to do maximum damage to the Republican Party. It's a tactic the United States pioneered in a similar trade dispute in the late 1980s. The European Community banned imports of hormone-fed U.S. beef, and the United States retaliated with tariffs on European goods designed to raise political hackles. To get around the tariffs, which applied to low-alcohol drinks among other products, Italian winery Riunite ("On ice, that's nice!") raised its alcohol content, and it remains that way today, as do the tariffs, "continuing to harm consumers and industries," says Dale Hathaway, an economist at the National Center for Food and Agricultural Policy. "The retaliatory game is a lose-lose approach."

This time around, trade policy experts expect the president to scuttle the steel tariffs in the face of EU threats, especially since the industry appears to be on the road to recovery. But Democratic candidates will continue to hammer Bush on manufacturing job losses, so electoral math may trump free trade yet. Bush may dodge the tricky political choice entirely by replacing the tariffs with selective antidumping duties. No matter what he does, some people will be very angry, says Larry Sabato, director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics: "Steel tariffs are a tough issue. You can't win on that one."

Ironically, the economic effect of the tariffs shrinks every day. Domestic steel prices have fallen back to near pretariff levels, and a combination of reduced global production and increased demand for steel in China has eliminated a world steel glut that existed just a few years ago. Yet antagonisms over free trade and its consequences only seem to grow.

Neither Europe nor the United States wants to reduce onerous farm subsidies, infuriating developing nations like Brazil. Congress, as well as the Japanese and the South Koreans, continues to blame China for the loss of manufacturing jobs. And U.S. workers are hardly enamored of free trade. Gary Hubbard, a spokesman for United Steelworkers of America, will be leading a contingent of 1,000 steelworkers to Miami this weekend to protest the proposed pan-American free-trade agreement. Their hostility goes beyond tariffs. "We want enforceable labor and environmental standards in trade agreements," says Hubbard. "Otherwise, capital is mobile, people aren't, and jobs will migrate to the lowest common denominator."

Whatever happens with steel is likely to be only one minor battle in a very long war. ●

FROM LEFT: SCOTT GOLDSMITH; JASON M. CARRIER—BLOOMBERG / LANDOV

TRADE BATTLE

Miami prepares for the latest protest

DIGGING IN. Bookstore owner Raquel Roque wants to stay open despite protests.

MIAMI—Raquel Roque isn't budging—probably. Her family has owned the Downtown Book Center here since 1965, and she's been through riots, Hurricane Andrew, and the ugly protests over Elián González. Now this: Thousands of antiglobalization demonstrators—like the rowdy horde that brought Seattle to its knees in 1999—will swarm Miami this week when business and trade leaders from 34 nations convene for high-stakes trade talks.

Roque, whose shop on Southeast First Street is smack in the protesters' path, refuses to close her tiny store. "This is my life. I don't think I would feel safer if I am away," says the 49-year-old Roque. "But I'm not completely crazy—if the situation gets too dangerous, I will evacuate."

Battening down. To close or not to close—that is the question all over Miami's downtown of brightly colored buildings and swaying palms. Cruise ships have pulled out. The federal courthouse is shuttered. Law firms are urging employees to work in their offices up in Fort Lauderdale. "No one knows what to expect," says Charlie Ghantous, 36, owner of Premos Deli. "It's like we're waiting for a hurricane."

Miami has a lot riding on this week's negotiations, which are aimed at creating a tariff-free trading bloc known as the Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2005. The FTAA would encompass 34 nations in North, Central, and South America and the Caribbean. Miami "needs to enhance its business image, and it needs to handle protests in a professional, dignified manner," says longtime local PR pro Bruce Rubin. The city is also lobbying hard to become the future FTAA headquarters.

The talks are expected to attract some 40,000 protesters, who believe that such trade treaties have lowered wages and weakened environmental and labor protections. The protesters are a disparate bunch: The overwhelming majority are expected to be nonviolent members of labor unions and environmental and religious groups. Others may engage in acts of civil disobedience. It's the smallest group that's worrisome: self-proclaimed "anarchists" dressed in black who have engaged in violence at other trade gatherings. How Miami's macho police department—with a history of shady cops—handles it all will determine whether the city shines or sinks. One thing is certain: Miami's tough new police chief, John Timoney, is leaving nothing to chance.

Part feisty street brawler, part intellectual, Timoney, 55, will lead the police bicycle brigade—as he did during the 2000 GOP convention in Philadelphia when he was chief there and got a bike smashed over his head. His message to the activists: "Say anything you want but keep your hands to yourself." A Bronx street cop who rose to No. 2 in the NYPD, the Irish-born Timoney then served four years as Philadelphia's chief, winning kudos for a drop in homicides. He's known as a cop's cop, but he's also a reader of Kafka and Dostoevsky.

Soon after taking over Miami's department in January, Timoney started readying his 1,080-officer force. His bottom line: Don't overreact. "I've told our guys: Don't play the stereotype because you aren't that way," he says. Still, the show of force will be massive. More than 3,000 law enforcement officers in all will hit the streets, with some 40 Florida police departments and federal agencies contributing manpower and equipment. Police boats will jam the waterways. An 8-foot fence of tight chain link will block protesters from the area of the meetings. Timoney also won approval of a law banning golf balls and rocks at demonstrations. And the police department has arranged for a detention facility outside the city to hold those arrested. "An alligator farm near the Everglades," jokes Cmdr. Robert Reed.

Soren Ambrose, 40, organizer for New Voices on Globalization—who plans to be in Miami this week—says violence fears have been exaggerated. "I'm unaware of anyone carrying anything that could be a weapon," he says. Chuck Munson, 38, who coordinates an online library for global anarchists, won't be in Miami but has attended planning meetings. He admits that some protesters do get out of hand. "We always try to push the envelope," he says. "A lot of violence is a reaction to the police violence."

In turbulent Miami, however, the demonstrators may have more to contend with than just the cops. Alex Gelman, 38, owner of CompLaser Scooter downtown, says he is apprehensive and might bring a shotgun to his store. "Maybe I'll bring my .357 Magnum," chimes in employee Mike Beyzer, 44. Perhaps they are kidding. But, hey, it's a tough town. *–Angie Cannon*

SCOTT WISEMAN FOR USN&WR

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COURTING CHINA

To persuade the Middle Kingdom to pick its software over Linux, Microsoft plays nice

BY PAUL ANDREWS

Can there be such a thing as a kinder, gentler Microsoft? The answer may well soon emerge in China, where the software Ninja and Red Dragon are locked in a strategic duel over Windows and its free competitor, Linux.

Call it "Crouching Monopoly, Hidden Penguin," featuring PCs and lines of code. Long at odds with China over rampant piracy but now facing Beijing mandates for "homegrown only" systems, Microsoft is using a blend of diplomacy and dollars to stave off open-source momentum in the world's most potent emerging tech market. How well it succeeds could establish its defense against similar forays in governments and enterprises throughout the world.

In a bid to make inroads in the global marketplace, Microsoft earlier this year offered to share Windows source code with foreign governments concerned about security. Last month, Beijing put Windows under the magnifying glass for the first time. China says it wants to make sure Windows does not contain "back doors," or security holes, that could give spies, competitors, or hackers access to Chinese databases and national secrets.

Other unmonopolylike Microsoft gestures include information technology funding and training, showcased by a new Microsoft China Technology Center in Beijing. And the software giant has also teamed up with Chinese companies on several joint ventures, such as a Beijing multimedia center with Vimicro, a top chip maker, and a software lab with ZTE Telecommunications, a leading Chinese firm.

But squelching China's love for Linux may be Microsoft's toughest battle yet. China, which is training 600,000 engineers a year and is on track to be the world's No. 2 semiconductor maker, seems intent on pressing an open-source agenda. The Chinese lottery, the post office system, and Guangdong province's accounting system all use Linux. IBM is working with Beijing to put China's social security system on Linux, a huge data undertaking. And Chinese Linux software companies are even luring native programmers back from Silicon Valley. More important, since 1999 the Middle Kingdom has endorsed its own version of Linux called Red Flag, and in a widely watched August announcement, the Procurement Center of the State Council mandated that by year's end only computers with Chinese-produced software would be purchased by the government.

Bye-bye, Bill. At the same time, Japan began wooing Beijing to join an $8.6 million Asian alliance with South Korea to boost research in Linux. "The Chinese are determined to say goodbye to Mr. Bill Gates," declared Hajime Watan-

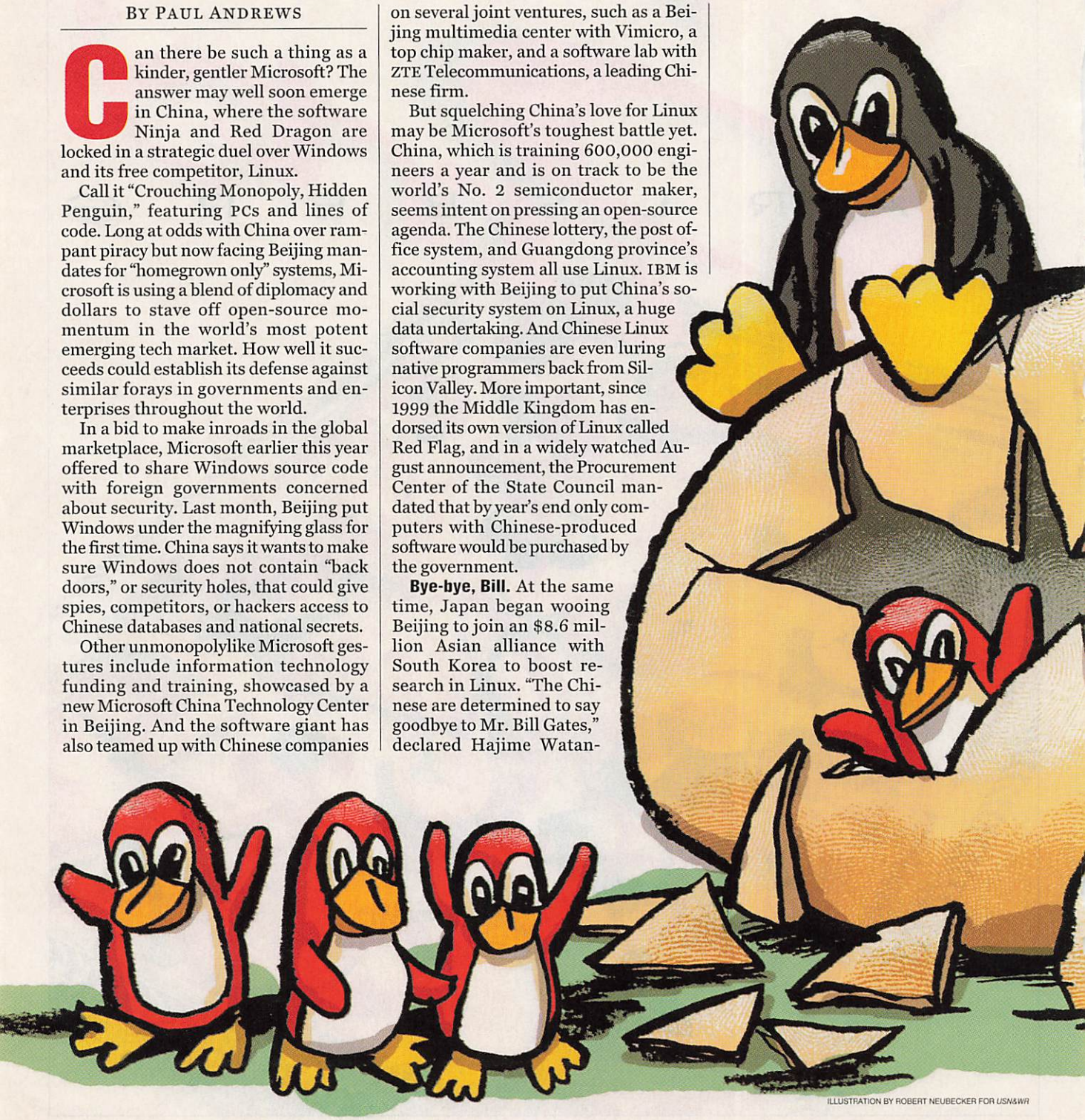


ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT NEUBECKER FOR *USN&WR*

abe, head of Tokyo's Turbolinux.

Beyond its own markets, China's choices on technological development could pollinate a huge Asian boomer market—as many as 1.7 billion consumers between 30 and 59 years of age over the next 20 years, analysts say. Already, China accounts for 89 percent of Linux's Asia-Pacific revenue(excluding Japan). By 2006, its revenue is expected to reach $19 million, with China's share at 94 percent, according to tech trend-watcher IDC. "China will definitely play a key role in the expansion of Linux's footprint in Asia, because of the size of its economy, its history of supporting open-source software, and, most important, government policy," says IDC analyst Vivian Tero.

Outwardly, Microsoft remains optimistic. It interprets the current dissection of its code as a signal Windows will win Chinese endorsement once the code passes muster. And it says China's homegrown mandate may not necessarily exclude Windows. But IDC's Tero notes that the order is intended to eliminate Microsoft products from government systems by 2010.

Windows does have a leg up with its huge installed base in China, albeit largely made up of freeloaders. The Washington, D.C.-based Business Software Alliance places China's piracy rate at a staggering 92 percent, totaling $2.4 billion in illegitimate software.

In some ways, Microsoft is hedging its bets. While granting the Chinese government unusually broad access to its source code, it stops short of handing over the whole shebang by holding back roughly 10 percent to 15 percent of the code. What's more, the Chinese will not be allowed to alter Windows themselves. Any requested changes must be sanctioned and performed by Microsoft programmers. By contrast, China is free to view and manipulate Linux and open-source programming ad infinitum.

In any case, no one is making much money on software in China yet. Linux revenue was $7 million in 2002, most of it generated via third-party customization and support services for network servers. Tero says Microsoft still makes money on PCs, which account for slightly over two thirds of shipped systems but suffer a milder 60 percent piracy rate. Still, revenue estimates are hard to come by, and Microsoft enterprise-storage chief Charles Stevens is only half joking when he observes, "In China, Windows and Linux cost the same."

Robber roundup. China does seem sincere about cleaning up Windows piracy. Last year, Beijing agreed to track down illegal software pirates, with the help of $750 million from Microsoft. In September, Chinese authorities seized tens of thousands of illegitimate programs in nationwide raids. Curbing piracy normally would mean a financial windfall for Microsoft, as abusers would be forced to pony up license fees. But the Linux alternative puts a different spin on the situation. "There could be significant backlash from forcing Windows licenses," says IDC analyst Al Gillen. "Microsoft knows it has a problem." Indeed, the much-hailed $750 million pact specifically lacks the teeth to enforce copyright.

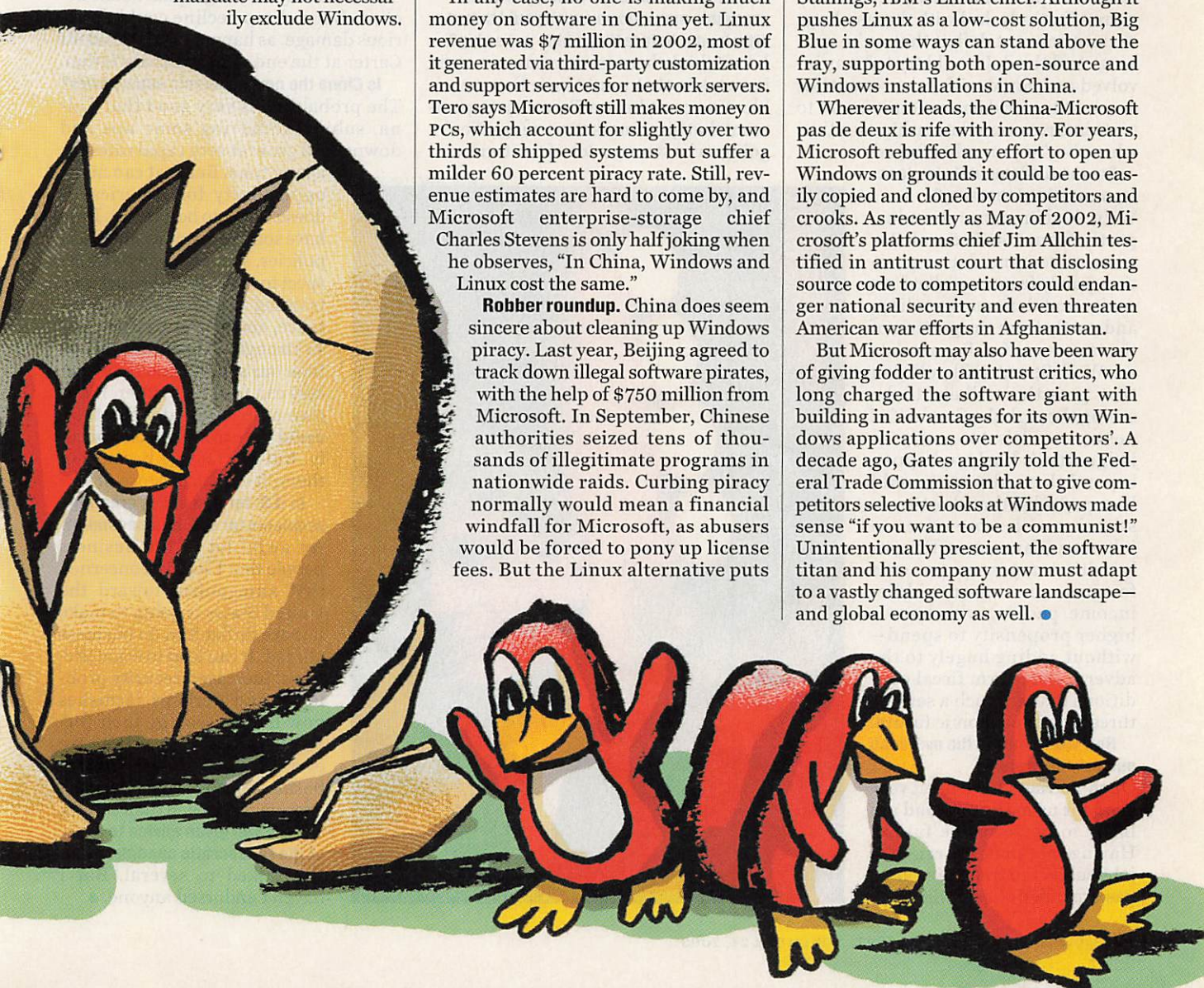
Piracy aside, Microsoft does seem edgy over government mandates on software usage. "Consumers and market forces should determine software selection and development," says Microsoft spokesman Mark Martin, "not government policy."

For now, analysts see more smoke than fire-breathing in China's strategy. Microsoft can beat Linux where costs hit hardest—in support and client relationships—by tailoring versions of its operating system to large-customer specifications, says Gillen.

"What China really is saying is that it supports multiple solutions," says Jim Stallings, IBM's Linux chief. Although it pushes Linux as a low-cost solution, Big Blue in some ways can stand above the fray, supporting both open-source and Windows installations in China.

Wherever it leads, the China-Microsoft pas de deux is rife with irony. For years, Microsoft rebuffed any effort to open up Windows on grounds it could be too easily copied and cloned by competitors and crooks. As recently as May of 2002, Microsoft's platforms chief Jim Allchin testified in antitrust court that disclosing source code to competitors could endanger national security and even threaten American war efforts in Afghanistan.

But Microsoft may also have been wary of giving fodder to antitrust critics, who long charged the software giant with building in advantages for its own Windows applications over competitors'. A decade ago, Gates angrily told the Federal Trade Commission that to give competitors selective looks at Windows made sense "if you want to be a communist!" Unintentionally prescient, the software titan and his company now must adapt to a vastly changed software landscape—and global economy as well. •



WHAT RUBIN WOULD DO NOW

A former treasury secretary says economic policy needs an overhaul

BY JODIE T. ALLEN

Former Treasury Secretary **Robert Rubin,** *author of a new book,* In an Uncertain World, *took time out from his duties as chairman of Citigroup's executive committee last week to give* U.S. News *his take on the current economic uncertainties.*

If you were treasury secretary now, what would be your No. 1 worry?
There are three: One is repairing the immense damage that's been done to the long-term fiscal position of the federal government. The second would be to try to put in place measures that would more effectively deal with the very large current account deficit that we're running. And third, I would try to be as involved as I could with other countries around the world on economic issues to try to buttress our relationships at a time when they're somewhat frayed.

Are the fundamentals in place for a sustained recovery?
We've had immense stimulus, partly from the Federal Reserve's accommodative position, partly from homeland security and defense spending, and partly from the portion of the tax cuts so far. Economists on Wall Street will tell you that growth is likely to be strong through the first half of next year. It's too early to judge what's likely to happen beyond that. Also, you could have provided that short-term stimulus with more effect on jobs—and far more efficiently with temporary tax cuts focused on lower-middle-income people, who have a higher propensity to spend—without adding hugely to the adverse long-term fiscal conditions that are such a serious threat to our economic future.

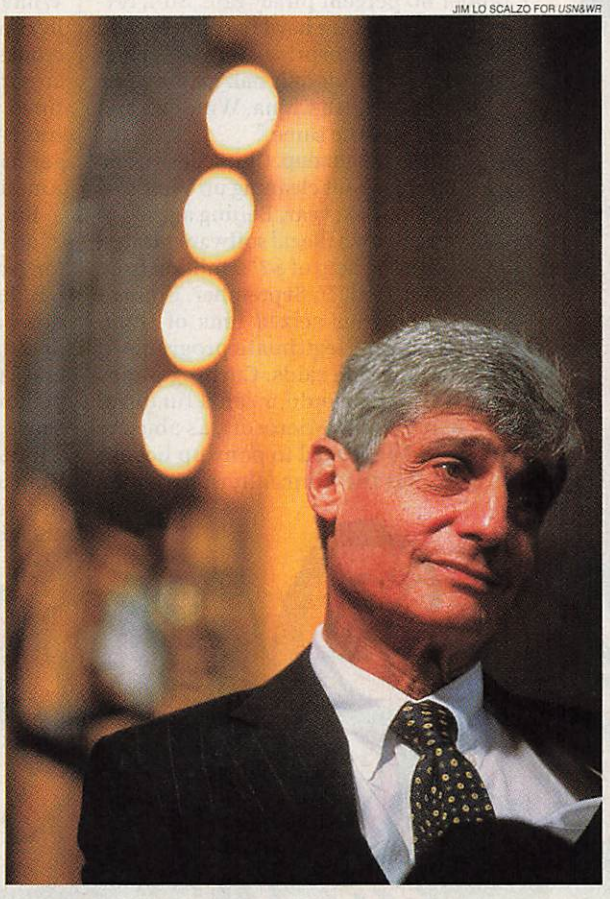
How worrisome is the overseas outsourcing trend?
Open markets have been very good for us in the past and are likely to be so in the future. Having said that, the range of jobs subject to trade pressures has expanded substantially because of outsourcing in service areas. The magnitude and speed of this phenomenon may cause a lag before the adjustment takes place with both economic and political consequences. The policy implications are that we need to do everything we can to boost productivity so we can be competitive. That includes education and dislocation aid and, I might add, fiscal discipline to keep interest rates low and promote investment. But if we try to set up trade barriers, our competitors will get the inputs to their production processes that come from abroad more cheaply than we will.

In your book you note concern that the stock market was overreacting to good economic news. Do you wish you'd talked a little louder before the bubble got so big?
I don't think there are measures we could have taken that would have been sensible. You can't have a Treasury Department that gives market warnings. You're going to be wrong a lot of the time, and you could precipitate the very sharp declines you're trying to avoid. What I did do in interviews and speeches is say that it's imperative for somebody who's going to invest to understand valuation and be very disciplined in their investment decisions. I don't think, frankly, anybody paid much attention to me.

Will foreigners become less willing to finance our trade deficit and so produce a precipitous decline in the dollar?
I think one of the risks that [long-term fiscal deficits] pose to the economy is undermining foreign confidence in our currency. The current account deficit amplifies that risk. An economy as large as ours could adjust to a gradual dollar decline. But a sharp decline could do serious damage, as happened to President Carter at the end of his administration.

Is China the new economic superpower?
The probability is very good that China, subject to having some ups and downs, will grow at very rapid rates for a long time. But that can mean opportunity for America; it doesn't have to be a threat. If we have sound economic and fiscal policies, sound policies with respect to trade, public education, training and dislocation assistance, and all those issues that so strongly affect productivity, then our success and their success can feed each other. If our own policies are deficient, we could have trouble economically. But it won't be because of them; it will be because of us.

JIM LO SCALZO FOR *USN&WR*



Is U.S. foreign policy creating problems for U.S. businessmen?
An awful lot of the business people that I see are concerned that antagonism toward the United States is going to make it more difficult to do business abroad. It can lead to trade frictions, increased security problems, and perhaps tarnishes how they're seen by their foreign customers. I don't think we ever have discussions with U.S. business people where that isn't a foremost issue in their minds.

Have you given advice to any of the Democratic candidates?
I've talked to several. But I haven't endorsed anyone. ●

Get in the zone with the mattress topper that molds to your body's contours

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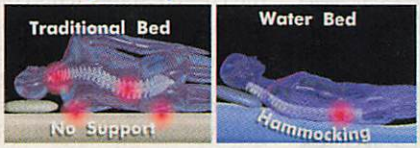
It's 3 a.m. You have exactly two hours until you have to get up for work, and you still can't seem to fall asleep. At this point, the phrase "tossing and turning" begins to take on a whole new meaning for people whose mattresses simply aren't giving proper support anymore. Your mattress may dictate your quality of sleep. Even if you merely suspect that your mattress may be outdated, that's when you need to take action. Some mattresses fail to support your spine properly, which can result in increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Other mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can sometimes cost you well over $1000. Now, one of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed an incredibly affordable mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep: The Memory Foam Ultra Mattress Topper.

Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your lower back and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the shoulders, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain can benefit from this technology.

What could be wrong with your present bed?



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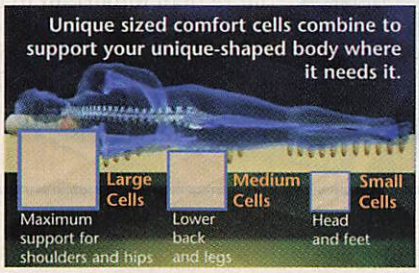

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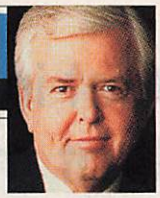

Show some steel, Mr. Bush

THE EUROPEAN UNION WANTS TO play tough. And the World Trade Organization wants to help it out. The WTO ruled last week that the 2002 U.S. steel tariffs violate international trade law. The decision clears the way for the EU to make good on its retaliation threats to the Bush administration. And soon we'll find out whether President Bush has the courage of his convictions. I hope that Mr. Bush demonstrates the same leadership on international trade as in geopolitics.

The EU might want to think twice before it launches a trade war against the United States. The Europeans, despite their union, are hardly monolithic. The United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, and Ireland can be counted upon for both support and, ultimately, mediation should a full-scale trade war break out. The France, Germany, Belgium, and Luxembourg axis is one we should dismiss out of hand. And, frankly, they are about as important to American economic interests as they were to our success militarily against Saddam Hussein. They're losers before even the first shot is fired in any trade war.

It may have escaped the attention of the Brussels bureaucrats, but America is Europe's biggest and best customer, and Europeans simply can't afford the price of economic warfare. The U.S. trade deficit with Europe last year totaled more than $82 billion. The United States has not run a trade surplus with Europe since 1992. Collectively, the EU sold the United States far more in goods and services than it bought for more than 10 years.

The president issued the steel tariffs not to alienate the EU but rather to save 150,000 jobs in our beleaguered steel industry. There have been more than 30 industry bankruptcies since 1997, and many of its representatives credit the president's decision to put tariffs on steel imports with keeping the domestic industry alive. The president has a far more important constituency to serve than the members of the WTO and the EU: the American people.

"We have made significant progress in getting back on our feet, which would have been impossible without the president's program," says Thomas J. Usher, chairman and CEO of United States Steel Corp. Usher also calls for a continuation of the tariffs. "Rebuilding the steel industry is not an event; it is a process," he says. "To prematurely end this program would put the restructuring process in jeopardy."

As usual, the boys in Brussels want to play cute. The EU has chosen a list of products to sanction in order to inflict economic and political pain on the United States and Bush. Oh so cleverly, the EU is targeting merchandise from states critical to President Bush's re-election bid. Among the goods pinpointed are textile products from the Southeast, steel from West Virginia, and citrus from Florida.

Bitter battle over bananas. Such sanctions are always designed to carry the most political punch, but playing trade hardball was definitely not invented by the Europeans. Back in 2000, the United States imposed 100 percent tariffs on several European luxury goods. The move followed a bitter battle with Europe over beef and bananas. The EU blinked, however, when the United States threatened to include cashmere on the list of goods to carry the steep tariff. Cashmere products are exported mainly to the United States, and such sanctions would have meant the end of the industry in Scotland. The Europeans got the message.

If the United States were to escalate the conflict beyond steel, we could find ourselves in an actual trade war, something unprecedented in recent history. Nonetheless, escalation cannot be ruled out. The Bush administration has demonstrated that it does not need the approval of the global community when it comes to protecting U.S. interests. Simply put, this is a dangerous and silly game for the EU to play.

"The president issued the steel tariffs... to save 150,000 jobs in our beleaguered steel industry."

SCOTT GOLDSMITH

The Bush administration may be forced to take further action. The global economy is absolutely dependent on the United States. This country carries an annual current-account deficit of $481 billion with the rest of the world. Our gross domestic product was more than $10 trillion in 2002, greater than the next five countries combined. The success or failure of the American economy is more than important to the rest of the world.

President Bush has some difficult decisions to make. And the EU may be in for an unpleasant surprise. ●

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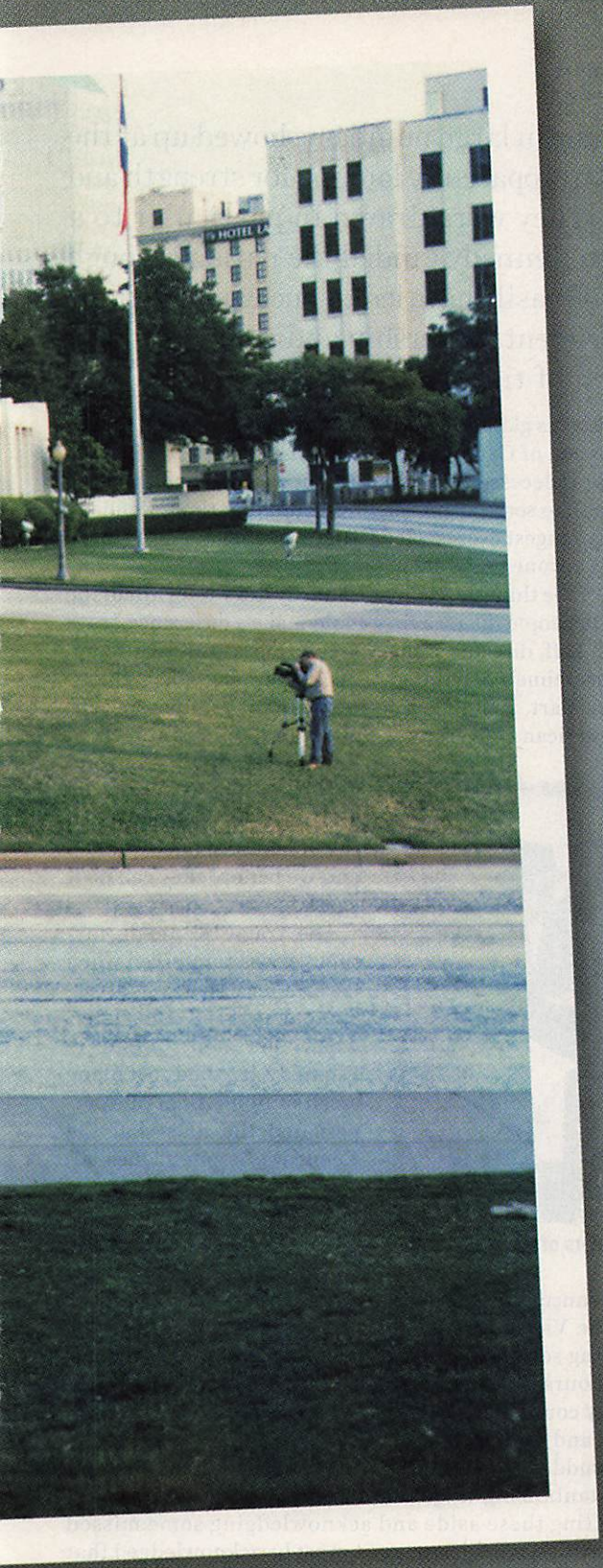
NOVEMBER 2003 **People still visit Dealey Plaza to contemplate the tragic events of 40 years ago.**

KEVIN HORAN FOR *USN&WR*

Special Report



NOVEMBER 1963 The limousine carrying President and Mrs. Kennedy speeds away after the shooting in Dallas's Dealey Plaza.

DARK DAY

When Kennedy was shot, the nation was changed forever. In an exclusive book excerpt, journalists who were there remember what it was like

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AFTER 9/11, Americans in large numbers showed up at the John F. Kennedy Library and Museum in Boston, apparently looking for strength and hope at a time of national peril and sorrow. They were drawn in particular to a film recounting the Cuban missile crisis, when Kennedy guided the nation through a confrontation with the Soviet Union that could easily have led to nuclear war. Many visitors seemed comforted by the idea that prudent leadership and common sense could make all the difference, even in the worst of times.

The fact that Kennedy still has such a hold on America's imagination comes as no surprise to historians and other observers of popular culture. This connection will become even more apparent in the coming weeks as the nation marks the 40th anniversary of his assassination, on Nov. 22, 1963.

Yet the reasons for his mystique are less clear. The fact that he was assassinated in the prime of life goes only so far in explaining it. President William McKinley, another popular leader, was murdered in 1901, but his death generated no vast outpouring of emotion and no enduring sense of a lost legacy. In contrast, millions of Americans still recall where they were when they heard that Kennedy had been shot. (I was attending history class at St. Rose High School in Belmar, N.J., when the principal came on the public-address system and, choking back tears, told us what had happened. Everyone marched to our nearby church, and we spent the next few hours praying for the president's survival and, a bit later, his soul.)

We all seem to have vivid memories of his funeral, carried on live television, with those unforgettable images of his grieving widow and his young son saluting smartly when his father's cortege passed by.

WAYNE MILLER—MAGNUM

Reading the news of the tragedy on the streets of New York City

"Kennedy is frozen in our memory at age 46," says historian Robert Dallek, author of *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy 1917-1963*. "People don't realize that this past May 29 he would have been 86 years of age."

Some deft PR by the White House helped to create his charismatic aura in the first place. He and his advisers quickly grasped the power of the new medium of television, and the handsome, eloquent young leader quickly mastered it and went on to convey an image of optimism and charm that still surrounds him today. His performances at live press conferences are remembered as tours de force. His speeches are used as brilliant examples of political communication. And if his legislative record fell short, his ideas about ending the Cold War and achieving racial equality at home, at least under the law, eventually took root and became reality.

Further, his glamorous wife, Jacqueline, reinforced the exciting image of Camelot, especially in contrast to his solid but dull predecessor, Dwight Eisenhower. Ike had been the oldest man to serve as president up until that time; Kennedy was the youngest ever elected to the office. The White House never let anyone forget it.

"One of the things President Kennedy did was instill in the American people the idea they could make a difference," says Deborah Leff, director of the Kennedy Library and Museum. "... It was a time when you saw America striving to be its best."

For his part, Kennedy said in one of his famous speeches, at American University on June 10, 1963: "No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable—and we believe they can do it again."

The tragic Kennedy mythology was reinforced when his brother Robert was assassinated in 1968 and, later, when his son, John F. Kennedy Jr., died in a plane crash in 1999. All of this perpetuated the idea that the Kennedys, despite all their advantages, were not immune from life's calamities. This deepened their connection to the rest of us.

Yet Kennedy governed prior to the age of cynicism brought on by the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, and the wrenching social changes of the past four decades (including, of course, his own assassination). Perhaps not even Kennedy could have emerged from this era unscathed had he lived and remained in public life.

"The sudden end to Kennedy's life and presidency has left us with tantalizing 'might have beens,'" Dallek writes. "Yet even setting these aside and acknowledging some missed opportunities and false steps, it must be acknowledged that the Kennedy thousand days spoke to the country's better angels, inspired visions of a less divisive nation and world, and demonstrated that America was still the last best hope of mankind." It is a legacy any president would be proud of. ●

DALLAS

NOVEMBER 22, 1963

President and Mrs. Kennedy, welcomed at Love Field

AP

The day began with Air Force One swooping down from the Texas sky, only to take to the air again, three hours later, with a new leader sworn in. In this exclusive book excerpt, journalists who were there recall the moments that changed a nation forever.

11:38 A.M.

LOVE FIELD

Air Force One touches down.

MIKE QUINN, *reporter, Dallas Morning News:* I saw Kennedy step past the back door of the plane, then saw his arm reach back for something or someone. It happened to be Mrs. Kennedy. That first impression of her stepping to the door will linger forever. She had on a rose suit, or pink, I guess, but it was beautiful, and the color seemed to reflect the sun. As she stepped out ahead of the president the crowd seemed awestruck, then started applauding and—if you will pardon—squealing. I understood then why Kennedy liked to have Mrs. Kennedy along.

VAL IMM, *society editor, Dallas Times Herald:* It's one thing to read it, and it's another thing to experience it—[Kennedy] was equipped with just a tremendous charisma. It was actually like waves that went out in the crowd.

ROBERT DONOVAN, *Washington bureau chief, Los Angeles Times:* If Hollywood had tried to cast for their purpose a president and his wife, they could never have dreamed up John F. Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy.

JACK BELL, *political writer, Associated Press:* Kennedy had overruled the Secret Service, which wanted to take him directly from the airport to the Dallas Trade Mart, where he was supposed to make a speech. [Vice President] Johnson had not wanted that. He wanted Kennedy to go through Dallas and demonstrate to these people—and to the world—that Dallas loved Kennedy.

11:55 A.M.

WITH THE MOTORCADE

Kennedy's motorcade heads downtown, where he is greeted by cheering crowds. Nellie Connally, the wife of the Texas governor, turns and says, "Mr. President, you can't say Dallas doesn't love you."

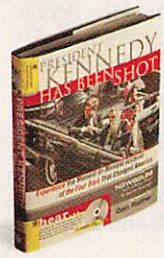
HUGH SIDEY, *White House correspondent, Time:* The sidewalks were filled, and they were obviously secretaries and clerks and young people from the buildings, basically workers. I'll always remember John Kennedy commenting one time, long before that, about how he would go along in these high-rise areas during the campaign and down below, people were cheering and wonderful—these were the young people in the streets—but he would look up and behind the glass in the corporate precincts, people were giving him the finger!

HUGH AYNESWORTH, *science/aviation/space editor, Dallas Morning News:* I was really a little pissed because I didn't have any assignment connected with the Kennedy thing at all. So I decided to walk over and see what was going on. I was in the middle of Elm Street; it was blocked off. Everybody was excited. I remember there was this black woman who was so excited when she saw Jackie. She said, "She's got my dress on! She's got my dress on!"

12:30 P.M.

WITH THE MOTORCADE

CHARLES ROBERTS, *White House correspondent, Newsweek:* The last thing I remember was looking up at the sign on this building as we came to a park and sort of turned to the right to go down this incline under the triple underpass. I saw the words "Texas School Book Depository" and thought it was a weird name for a building and wondered what it was. Just seconds after that I heard what I thought was a [motorcycle] backfire.



BELL, *AP:* I thought somebody had set off a cherry bomb. I thought . . . "My God, these Texans don't ever know when to quit. They've given the man everything they could. Here they are shooting off firecrackers and cherry bombs."

TOM DILLARD, *chief photographer, Dallas Morning News:* My car . . . was at the county jail entrance when the first shot was fired. I said, "They've thrown a torpedo." At the second shot, "No, it's heavy rifle fire," and at the third shot I said, "They've killed him." Bob Jackson, a photographer in my car, said, "There's the rifle in that open window." In the three or four seconds it took me to locate that particular open window and make a picture, the rifle had been withdrawn.

The Kennedys with Governor and Mrs. Connally, in the motorcade

ROBERT MACNEIL, *White House correspondent, NBC News:* I said, "Was that a shot?" Several people said, "No, no." Others said, "I don't know." Then there were two more explosions, very distinct to me. . . . On the grass on both sides of the roadway people were throwing themselves down and covering their children with their bodies. The air was filled with screaming, a high unison soprano wail. The sun was intensely bright. I saw several people running up the grassy hill beside the road. I thought they were chasing whoever had done the shooting, and I ran after them.

SIDEY, *Time:* It looked like a giant hand or wind had swept the place, everybody was lying down on the grassy knoll. At the curb there was this young man with a little boy. He was hammering the ground with his fist, with his other arm over the boy protecting him, just in anguish.

MALCOLM KILDUFF, *assistant White House press secretary:* We went around Vice President Johnson's car because it had slowed up, and we wanted to get up and catch up with the president's car. We sped off down the highway. The normal emergency procedure with shots is to just speed out, to get out of there as quickly as possible. At this point, it was still perfectly normal—until we passed the Trade Mart. I asked the driver of our car, "What is that large building up there ahead?" He said, "Parkland Hospital." Naturally you realized that somebody had been hurt, at least. It didn't occur to a single person in that car that the president of the United States really had been shot.

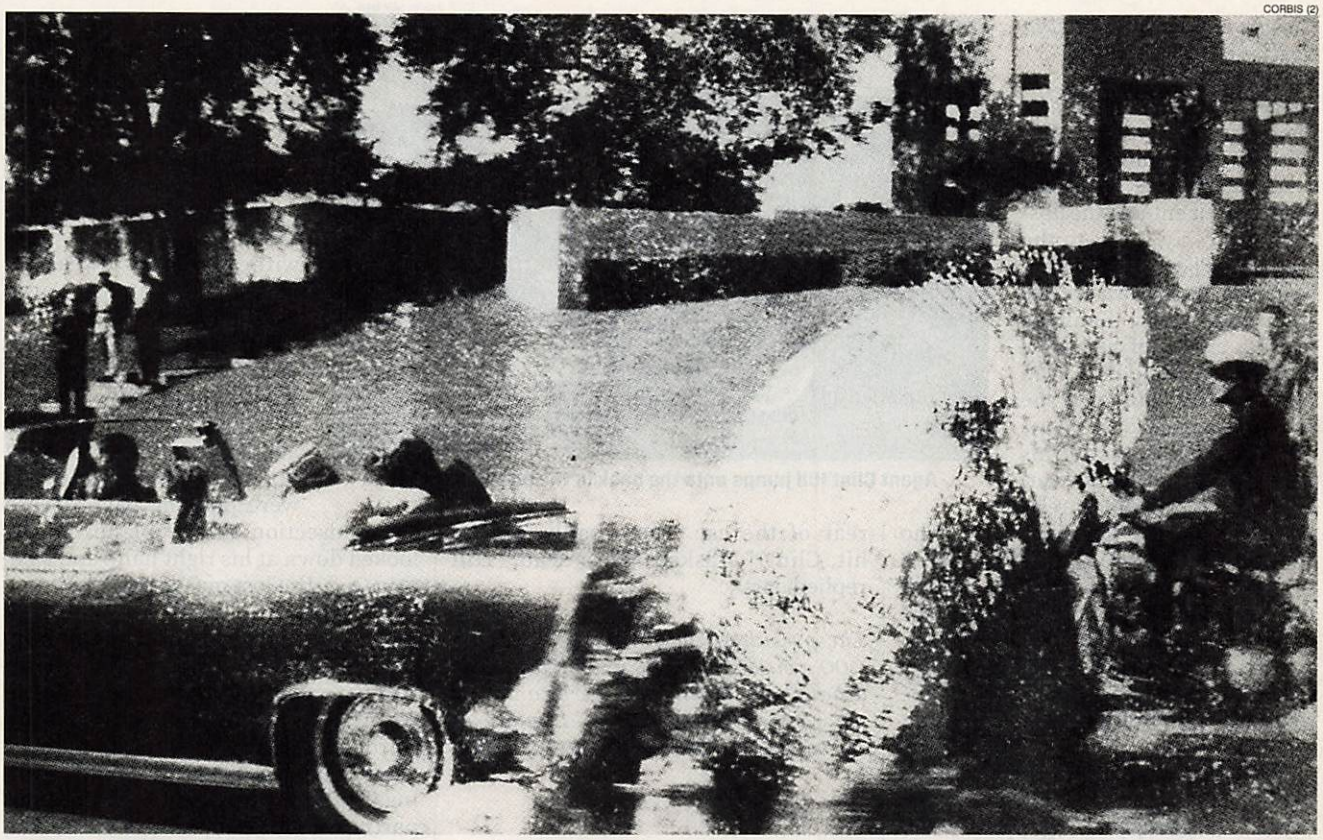
NEAR THE TRIPLE UNDERPASS

PIERCE ALLMAN, *WFAA-TV and Radio:* There were three shots. They were very distinct. Later on, in asking to recreate the time sequence, my timing on it was six and a half seconds. It was a very, very vivid memory. Mr. Kennedy really didn't slump. He sort of jerked up, and his arms went up and his hands went up towards his chin. As the shots continued, Jackie screamed something and tried to get up. Kennedy began slumping to the left, and Jackie got out of her seat and was going over toward her husband as he was coming toward her. About that time, the Secret Service man sprinted in from the trailing car and vaulted over the left rear fender and put himself on top of both of them and shoved them down. That's when they were both down in the back seat and Kennedy's foot was dangling over the side.

AYNESWORTH, *Dallas Morning News:* People didn't know where to run. Nobody knew where the shots were coming from. Nobody knew who had been hit, if anybody. Nobody knew where to run to protect themselves. . . . The lady [wearing the same pink outfit as Jackie] threw up, she was sick . . . I started interviewing people, but I didn't have a pencil or paper. I reached in my back pocket. I had two utility bills that I hadn't mailed. I used the backs of those envelopes. I saw a little kid that had one of these big jumbo pens, had a big American flag on it. And I grabbed

From President Kennedy Has Been Shot *(Sourcebooks, $29.95), produced by the Newseum with Cathy Trost and Susan Bennett. An accompanying audio CD is narrated by Dan Rather. Excerpts from the book and the CD are available at* www.usnews.com/jfk.

CORBIS (2)



A Polaroid taken by a bystander at the grassy knoll. Conspiracy theorists have said they can see a second shooter in the blurry image.

that because I had to start writing and interviewing. I gave him a quarter or two.

IN THE PRESS-POOL CAR

BOB CLARK, *ABC News:* There was one pool telephone in the car. [Merriman Smith] was sitting next to it, and that was because of his experience and his years as a White House reporter. Part of the press mythology is that Smitty immediately grabbed the phone and began talking, dictating a bulletin. He did not. . . . Before he picked up the phone, he just sat for a minute or two—a minute or two where [the AP's Jack] Bell could have reached forward from the back and gotten the phone. But he did not.

Eventually Smitty started dictating.

ROBERT BASKIN, *Washington bureau chief, Dallas Morning News:* Smith grabbed the radiotelephone, which hung just in front of him on the dashboard and got through to UPI quickly. "Where did that happen? Where did that happen?" he shouted at me. For the life of me, I could not get the words out, and the driver told him it was at the triple underpass. Jack Bell began to demand the telephone as we raced along, but Smith would not relinquish it. A wrestling match for the phone ensued.

KILDUFF, *White House:* Jack Bell got tired of waiting to dictate. He reached over, grabbed the phone, and swiped at Smith with it—and hit me instead.

HELEN THOMAS, *White House correspondent, United Press International:* It was the ultimate rivalry for the story of the century. [Smith] always knew how to look for the phone.

12:34 P.M.

DALLAS BUREAU, UPI

Smith calls in and begins dictating to Wilborn Hampton, a young reporter who has been on the job only two months.

WILBORN HAMPTON: I was standing next to the news desk. One of the telephones rang, and I picked it up, and this voice was shouting, "Three shots were fired at the motorcade! Make it a bulletin precede" [an alert that new developments had occurred in an earlier story]. I literally nearly dropped the phone. I cradled it next to my ear . . . I said, "I can't hear you." He screamed, "Three shots were fired at the motorcade! Make it a bulletin precede." . . . I said, "I'm having trouble hearing you." He shouted a third time. This time I was stepping over to [UPI division news manager] Jack Fallon, and I was almost afraid to interrupt him. I almost whispered, "Jack, it's Smitty." He said, "What does he want?" "He said there were three shots fired at the motorcade." Jack said, "What?" and grabbed the phone from my hand.

[A moment later] it occurred to me who would know what was going on: a police dispatcher. . . . I called the Dallas police main number and tried to muster all the authority I didn't feel and said, "This is Bill Hampton, UPI. Give me dispatch." To my utter amazement, somebody picked up the phone and said, "Dispatch." I said, "What can you tell me about the shots that were fired at the president's motorcade?" He said, "The president has been hit. I just got off the phone with the motorcycle policeman right next to the car, and they're going to Parkland Hospital." I said, "How bad?" He said, "I don't know, there's blood in the back of the car, and the president has fallen over and they're going to Parkland right now."

12:36 P.M.

PARKLAND MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

The four reporters in the pool car are the first journalists to reach the hospital.

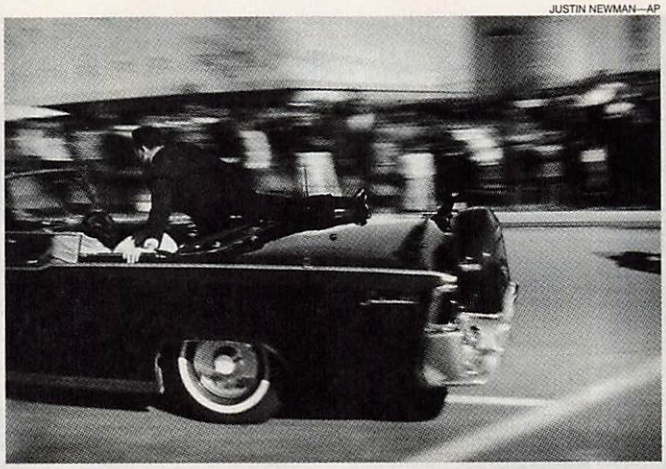
President Kennedy is still in the limo.

MERRIMAN SMITH, *White House correspondent, UPI:* We skidded around a sharp turn and spilled out of the pool car as it entered the hospital driveway. I ran to the side of the [car]. The president was face down on the back seat. Mrs. Kennedy made a cradle of her arms around the president's head and bent over him as if she were whispering to him. Governor Connally was on his back on the floor of the car. His head and shoulders resting in the arms of his wife, Nellie, who kept shaking her head and shaking with dry sobs. Blood oozed from the front of the governor's suit. I could not see the president's wound. But I could see blood splattered around the interior of the rear seat and a dark stain spreading down the right side of the president's dark gray suit.

CLARK, *ABC News:* Relations were much better with the Secret Service in those days.... They simply let us go up and stand as close as we could. We were standing literally a couple of feet from the car, staring down at Kennedy. He was stretched out in the back seat. He was lying with the side of his head exposed and his head in Jackie's lap... It was just a frozen scene. Jackie was sitting there, saying nothing. We had to wait a minute or so for the stretchers to come out.

SMITH, *UPI:* Clint Hill, the Secret Service agent in charge of the detail assigned to Mrs. Kennedy, was leaning over into the rear of the car. "How badly was he hit, Clint?" I asked. "He's dead," Hill replied curtly.

JUSTIN NEWMAN—AP



Agent Clint Hill jumps onto the back of the president's car.

The president is pronounced dead at 1:00 p.m., but the news is not released for a half-hour, while aides try to decide where the new president—Lyndon B. Johnson—should take the oath of office.

2:30 P.M.

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE AT LOVE FIELD

KILDUFF, *White House:* As soon as I got to the plane, Jim Swindal, the president's pilot, said, "The president has been looking for you." I walked in and I talked to the president. He said, "Mac, I've got to get sworn in here.... They feel I should be sworn in here in Dallas. We're trying to get hold of the judge." He said, "Do we have to allow some of the press in here?" I said, "Yes, we do."

ROBERTS, *Newsweek:* The curtains were drawn. They had gotten the president's casket aboard by removing some seats from the back of the airplane. They were waiting for the press—the president, I later learned, had insisted on some press witnesses to his swearing-in—and for Judge Sarah Hughes.... She arrived and was taken aboard. Then Kilduff gave us the signal to come aboard. I can remember Smitty as we crowded aboard the plane. We went up the forward ramp and were pushing back toward the midsection of the plane. Smitty looked down at his right hand and said, "My God, I've lost my typewriter."

SMITH, *UPI:* All of the shades of the larger main cabin were drawn. The interior was hot and dimly lighted. Kilduff propelled us toward the president's suite two thirds of the way back in the plane. I wedged inside the door and began counting. There were 27 people in the compartment. Johnson stood in the center with his wife, Lady Bird. U.S. District Judge Sarah T. Hughes, a kindly faced woman, stood with a small black Bible in her hands, waiting to give the oath.... The compartment became hotter and hotter. It developed that Johnson was waiting for Mrs. Kennedy, who was composing herself in a small bedroom in the rear of the plane.

SID DAVIS, *Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.:* It was just a matter of minutes until Mrs. Kennedy appeared. I was startled

APPREHENDING OSWALD

1:00 P.M.

Police surround the Texas School Book Depository. Searching the building, they find the sniper's nest. Less than an hour later, a few miles away, a police officer is shot dead. The suspect is seen fleeing into a local theater.

1:46 P.M.

TEXAS THEATRE

HUGH AYNESWORTH, *Dallas Morning News:* We went into the building. I peeked through, and I saw they dimmed the lights about half, and the show was still on. Then I saw a couple of people on each side walking up [the aisle], talking to people. All of a sudden two people came to [the suspect's] row. I was not more than 15 to 18 feet from him, right to my left, third row. Coming up on my right side were a couple of others. Officer Nick McDonald grabbed [the suspect]. It was so fast. They dragged [him] like a piece of meat. I mean, they were angry. I remember what he said; he said it twice: "I protest this police brutality! I protest this police brutality!"

Police take the suspect into custody. He is identified as Lee Harvey Oswald.

3:23 P.M.

FORT WORTH STAR-TELEGRAM

BOB SCHIEFFER, *Fort Worth Star-Telegram:* I had literally just walked in the door, and every phone in the place was ringing. I answered a phone, and a woman said, "Is there anyone there who can give me a ride to Dallas?" I said, "Madam, this is not a taxi service, and besides, the president has been shot." And she said, "Yes, I know; I heard it on the radio. I think my son is the one they've arrested." It was Lee Harvey Oswald's mother. So... the city editor sent me and another reporter, named Bill Foster, out to pick her up.... It was one of the most bizarre interviews I've ever had. She immediately began to talk not about this terrible thing that had happened to our president but that people would not feel sorry for her and that she would starve to death and that they would feel sorry for

when I saw her because I had never seen her with a hair out of place. . . . her right stocking was saturated with blood from her husband's head wound. By that time, it was caked on her right leg. I saw some blood on her skirt and on her right wrist. She had said at the time she didn't change her dress because she wanted the people of Dallas to see what they had done.

ROBERTS, *Newsweek:* [Kennedy aide] Larry O'Brien found a Bible in the president's sleeping compartment . . . . They had the oath read over the phone from Washington on a secretary-to-secretary basis, and then it occurred to someone—how do we know that this is *the* presidential oath? [Johnson aide Jack] Valenti got Deputy Attorney General [Nicholas] Katzenbach and made sure that this was word-for-word *the* oath, and it was typed out on a little Air Force One memo pad. The judge had that and the Bible.

CORBIS

Aboard Air Force One, President Johnson comforts Mrs. Kennedy.

2:38 P.M.

ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

DAVIS, *WBC:* Before [the judge] asked him to raise his right hand, Johnson said he wanted a glass of ice water. They brought a tumbler . . . and I remember Johnson, he could swallow a whole glass of water at one time. He just gulped [it] down.

SMITH, *UPI:* Judge Hughes held out the Bible, and Johnson covered it with his large left hand. His right arm went slowly into the air, and the jurist began to intone the constitutional oath, "I do solemnly swear [that] I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States."

DAVIS: This was one pool report that had to be right. There was a lot of anxiety on my part whether I was seeing everything I had to see—and writing down everything I had to see. I was wearing a chronograph, and I hit the stopwatch on the thing as soon as [the judge] started to go—and when she finished the oath I stopped it. I clocked the oath at 28 seconds.

ROBERTS, *Newsweek:* Lady Bird stood on his right, and they faced the judge as she administered the oath. There was a minute or so of awkward silence, and the president turned and kissed Lady Bird. He embraced Jackie, holding her by the elbows. The first words I remember immediately after the oath were Chief [Jesse] Curry of the Dallas police saying to Mrs. Kennedy, "You'd better go and lie down now, honey," or "little lady," or some diminutive affectionate like that. "You've had a real bad day." Whether Mrs. Kennedy heard him, I don't know. She didn't leave right away. There was handshaking all around, but a very solemn sort of handshaking. And then Mrs. Kennedy did go aft, and then the president turned and said, "Now, let's get airborne."

DAVIS, *WBC:* It was really the most amazing thing. What you had was the new president of the United States on the airplane, the body of the fallen president in a casket in the back . . . [his] widow, and the wife of the new president on this plane going back to Washington after such a glorious day in politics for John F. Kennedy. . . . It said something about the strength of this country, the fact that we had this thing happen, we didn't know who did it or why they did it, but the transition from one man to another was done in an orderly way.

SMITH, *UPI:* When the president's plane reached operating altitude, Mrs. Kennedy left the bedchamber and walked to the rear compartment of the plane. This was the so-called family living room, a private area where she and Kennedy, family and friends, had spent many happy airborne hours chatting and dining together. Kennedy's casket had been placed in this compartment, carried aboard by a group of Secret Service agents. Mrs. Kennedy went into the rear lounge and took a chair beside the coffin.

There she remained throughout the flight. ●

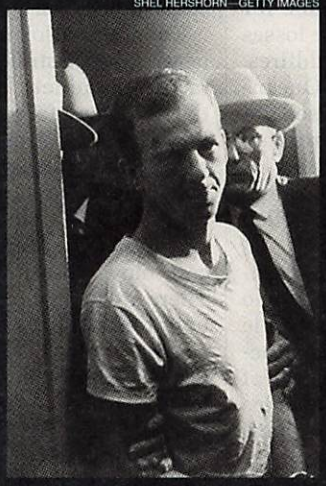
[Oswald's] wife and give her money. . . . some of those quotes I just couldn't bring myself to put them into the story I wrote for the next day.

5:05 P.M.

DALLAS POLICE DEPARTMENT

SCHIEFFER: Things were so different in those days. For one thing, we never told people who we were as journalists. If people asked, we were instructed never to lie, but if they assumed we were a policeman or detective, we let them believe that. . . . When I got to the Dallas police station, I took Mrs. Oswald in. To the first uniformed officer I found, I said, "I'm the one who brought Oswald's mother over from Fort Worth. Is there anyplace we can put her where these reporters won't be talking and bothering her?" He said, "Well, let me see what I can do." He actually found a little room off the burglary squad, and he said, "Will this be all right?" and I said, "This will be fine."

As the day wore on, [Oswald's mother] asked if she could see her son. So . . . the chief of homicide arranged to take her into a holding room just off the jail. I went right along. To this point—and I guess we'd been in the police station some hours now—no one had yet asked me who I was. Finally, a man who turned out to be, I think, an FBI agent, said, "Now just who are you?" I said, "Well, who are you?" and he said, "Are you a newspaperman?" I said, "Well, aren't you?" At that point . . . he said, "I'm going to kill you if I ever see you again." I would think he didn't mean it, but he may have because he was really steamed. At any rate, I sort of apologized and said I didn't realize I wasn't supposed to be there and kind of blended on out into the crowd.



SHEL HERSHORN—GETTY IMAGES

Lee Harvey Oswald, in police custody for the shooting

FLIRTING WITH DISASTER

Torturing buildings with fire, blast, and wind—to make them tougher

BY THOMAS HAYDEN

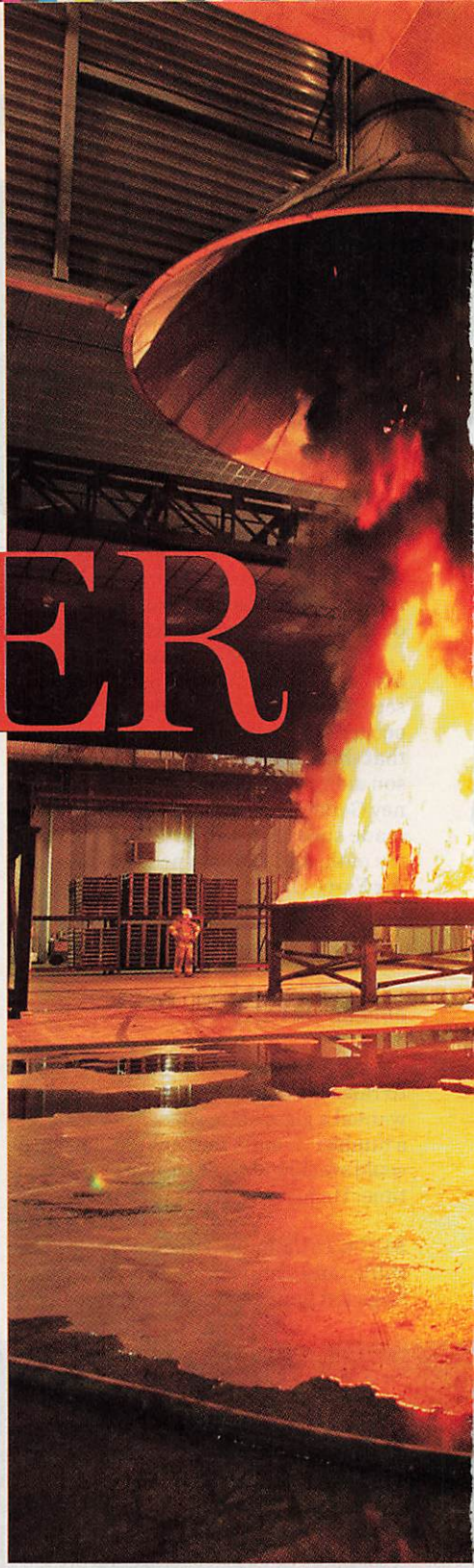
Dennis Waters's job is nothing like your job. Especially if you're in the insurance game, as he is. And if you've ever been an adolescent boy, you're about to be extremely jealous. For 33 years, Waters has had the simplest of job descriptions: He burns stuff.

These are dangerous times. Powerful hurricanes are on the upswing along the Atlantic coast, the West has been devastated by fire, and communities from Seattle to Los Angeles are braced for earthquakes. Then there's the threat of terrorism. The effects—economic and psychological—are many. But surely insurance companies, already liable for some $9.4 billion in catastrophe losses this year *before* the California wildfires, are in a particularly tough spot. One insurer, however, Rhode Island-based FM Global, is betting that difficult times can be good times. Its confidence has a lot to do with a team of fire enthusiasts, explosion nuts, and devotees of controlled mayhem like Waters.

Impact player. Most insurance companies employ number crunchers who calculate the odds that the unthinkable will happen and set insurance rates accordingly. FM Global, a top insurer of commercial and industrial properties like warehouses, factories, and chemical plants, relies instead on some 1,400 engineers. They experiment with fires, explosions, and hurricane-force winds, figuring out how to construct and protect buildings to keep disasters from becoming economic catastrophes.

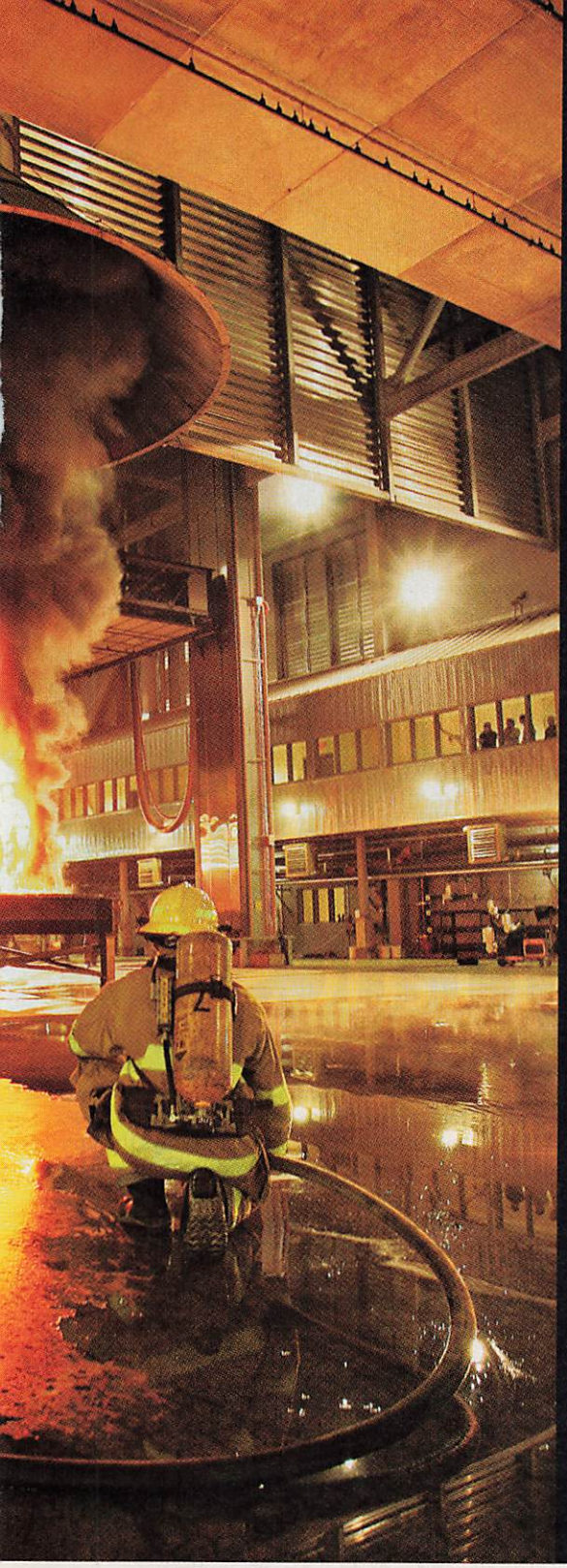
"Most of the industry is based on the premise that losses are inevitable," says FM Global's executive vice president, Ruud Bosman. Disasters will always happen, he notes, "but we try to control the impact." Their clients aren't the only ones who benefit; FM Global's findings often become standard industry practices. "It's really a one-of-a-kind place," says David Lucht, director of the Center for Firesafety Studies at Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts. "Their research is financed by the insurance industry, but they're very keen on getting their findings out so others can use them."

The foundation of FM Global's engineering-based strategy is a new research facility, completed this fall. Nestled in the hardwood forests of western Rhode Island, the 1,600-acre campus is home to what is probably the world's largest collection of torture devices for buildings. There's a bunker for dust explosions and a truck-engine-driven fan that can blow 160-mile-per-hour winds. There are hail guns and pneumatic cannons that can fire a two-by-four through a sheet of plywood from 50 paces. But fire remains the most common cause of losses at warehouses and factories, so the centerpiece of the $78 million facility is the 108,000-square-foot burn lab, where engineers can build a mock-up of a customer's warehouse, for example, and put it to the torch. "You send us your commodities, and we'll burn them for you," says Tom Lawson, who oversees engineering and research at the facility. "And then we'll figure out how to protect it."



That might mean finding the most cost-effective sprinkler system—powerful enough to force water to the source of the fire, but not so pricey that clients

JASON GROW FOR *USN&WR*



TAKE-HOME LESSONS

What FM Global learns by torture-testing commercial buildings often applies to domestic construction, too. To minimize losses from disasters, building to code may not be enough, says the company's manager of catastrophe exposures, Mike Burke. Sometimes going further doesn't take much more effort. The National Fire Protection Association *(www.nfpa.org)* and the Federal Emergency Management Agency *(www.fema.gov/hazards)* offer pointers, and so do Burke and his colleagues:

DOMESTIC FIRES: Prevention always comes first, and alarms can save your life—check them monthly. But small fires often grow faster than fire departments can respond. Domestic sprinklers attached to your home's plumbing can help contain the flame. Some municipalities are starting to require them in new homes, and retrofit packages can be installed in high-risk areas like kitchens for as little as $2.50 per square foot.

WILDFIRES: Keep fires away by clearing a 100-foot zone around your home. Cover vents with wire mesh to keep embers out, and treat wooden exterior walls with fire-retardant paint. Roofs are especially vulnerable; use tile or slate instead of asphalt shingles, and keep the gutters free of debris. Heat can travel through windows and ignite material inside; thermal glass and fire-resistant shutters can help.

WIND: You say hurricane; I say tornado; the shingles still say goodbye. If you're in a high-risk zone, you probably already know about storm shutters and hurricane straps, but even lesser storms can cause extensive damage from wind and flying debris. On the roof, corners are the most vulnerable; sometimes using six nails per shingle instead of the usual three is all it takes to keep the waterproofing on and the water out. *–T.H.*

FIRE, BUGGED. Monitoring a simulated warehouse fire at FM Global's burn lab

balk—or recommending safer ways to store flammable liquids. "You could store everything under water and never have a fire hazard at all," says Lawson, "but that would be expensive, and for most products, it's not necessary."

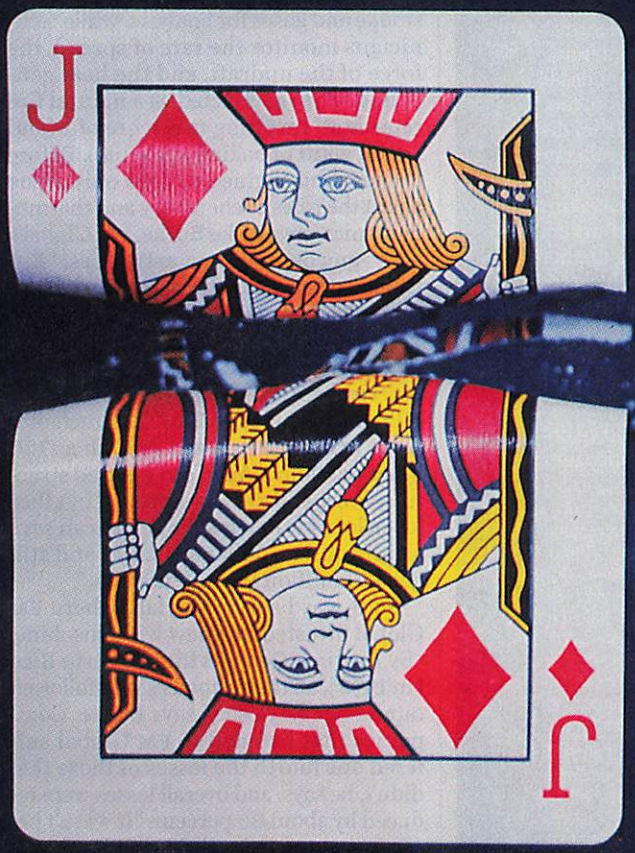
FM Global's engineers rank combustible materials on a six-point scale according to the risk they pose. Cardboard rates a 1—a quick fire, not much heat—and plastic a 5, for its high temperatures and the toxic gases it gives off. But what about boxes of plastic cups filled with applesauce? When each step up the risk scale means a $1-per-square-foot increase in fire-protection costs, there isn't much room for guesswork. So the company's in-house firefighters ignited a stack of the boxes underneath a massive "fire products collector" in the burn lab. The 35-foot diameter funnel captures smoke and gases for analysis, while technicians monitor the rate of spread, the force of the updraft, and the heat generated. The sauce acted as a natural fire retardant, resulting in a score of 1 (and a faint whiff of baking apple pie). Before the test, the engineers could only argue about the roles of chemistry and thermodynamics, says Mike Burke, FM Global's go-to guy on major catastrophes. "But when we bring it in here and burn it up, that usually settles the debates."

Leaks. How does FM Global's approach work in the real world? In 1992, Hurricane Andrew caused some $25.5 billion in damage in Florida, much of it from winds that gusted as high as 180 miles per hour. "All of our insured structures were still up," says Burke, "but they lost a lot of waterproofing. You can save a half-million-dollar structure and still get $10 million in contents loss."

So it was back to the lab, where FM Global invested in a new wind machine. "By the time Georges hit in Puerto Rico [in 1998], all the customers who followed our advice were set," says Burke. Companies that listened to FM Global suffered one fourth the losses of those that didn't, he says, and overall losses were reduced by about 80 percent. "It wasn't because we guessed well," he adds. "It was because we did the tests in the lab. Once you get it in your mind that risk can be managed, even a hurricane is just a straightforward engineering problem."

While the destruction can be spectacular, the solutions can be spectacularly mundane. In high winds, the most vulnerable parts of a roof are the corners, which act like an airplane wing, creating eddies and updrafts that can shred shingles and tear off the roof. "Wind suction on the corners is where roofs fail, so you anchor it," says Burke. "You'd think that would mean big trucks full of steel beams . . . but it can be something as simple as a couple handfuls of screws."

FM Global doesn't have any terrorism-specific programs, says Burke, "but we've looked at arson for years, so we already control for lots of that stuff." Even as many insurers tried to get out of the commercial property business after the World Trade Center attacks in 2001, Burke says, "we're offering more coverage than before." With new risks arising all the time, FM Global isn't likely to work itself out of a job anytime soon. "We want to be selling wind storm coverage in Florida and earthquake coverage in San Francisco," says Lawson. "We want to go after the scary stuff and bring it under control." ●



FORENSICS

Do bullets tell tales?

BY NELL BOYCE

The ballistics expert left no room for doubt. Testifying November 6 in the trial of accused sniper suspect John Allen Muhammad, he asserted that bullets from victims' bodies matched the rifle found in Muhammad's Chevrolet Caprice "to the exclusion of all other firearms." But the same day, in a Baltimore courtroom, ballistics itself was on trial. There, a federal judge agreed to examine the scientific foundations of bullet matching before deciding whether an expert's assertion of a "match" could be admitted in an upcoming murder trial.

That hearing is just the most recent challenge to bullet "fingerprinting." Forensic science looks little short of miraculous on television shows like *CSI*, but in the real world, old-time techniques like fingerprint and handwriting analysis have come under fire from critics who say they don't meet the same scientific standards as newer tools like DNA tests. Now, defense lawyers and scientists are leveling the same charge at two mainstays of bullet matching: lead analysis, which links bullets based on chemical traces in the metal, and ballistics, which relies on the distinctive marks that a gun leaves on a bullet. Critics say a bullet lead match can mean little, while claims of a ballistics match often boil down to "I know it when I see it."

Jacqueline Behn, whose brother, Michael, is now in a New Jersey prison, says she's waiting with "bated breath" for a report on lead matching, due out any day now from the National Academy of Sciences. Six years ago, Michael was convicted of murder largely because a box of cartridges he owned had the same chemical fingerprint as bullets found at the murder scene. Experts have testified at hundreds of trials that bullets with matching lead profiles must have been made from the same batch of metal—and thus could have had the same purchaser.

But Behn enlisted outside scientists to look at the technique. They found that batches of lead actually aren't necessarily unique, raising the chance of a random match. These days, researchers like statistician Alicia Carriquiry of Iowa State University say that it's "reckless" to give much weight to a lead match. The technique may soon get an official no-confidence vote: One insider says the upcoming NAS report should put an end to "business as usual" for lead matching.

Ballistics evidence like that introduced in the sniper trial—based on the marks and grooves on bullets and casings—faces a different kind of challenge. Here, the question is: What makes a match?

Bar code. Spent cartridge cases bear impressions from gun parts like the firing pin, and bullets flying down a gun barrel pick up long scratches that look like a bar code. These marks can reveal the gun model, and experts say that the subtlest of them often amount to a "fingerprint" unique to a single gun. When examiners see "sufficient agreement" between cartridges or bullets from the crime scene and ones test-fired from a suspect's gun, they declare a match. For comparison, they also look at "known nonmatches," ammunition fired from other, similar guns.

But what's "sufficient" is often just an examiner's opinion, skeptics say. Deciding which microscopic marks really matter is no mean feat. Nicks and imperfections on gun-making tools can leave the

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same impressions on multiple guns. The flaws on gun components—and the marks they leave on bullets—can change over time. And proficiency tests show that examiners do make errors; one study of tests from 1978 to 1991 found an error rate of 12 percent. The test-takers almost always erred by saying "inconclusive" instead of the correct answer, and false matches were rare. But examiners know when they're taking a test for a grade. In the real world, they may more readily declare a "match" in a borderline case.

Joan Griffin, a Boston defense attorney with an engineering background, recently questioned the science of ballistics in a retrial of a man previously convicted of shooting at a policeman. The jury acquitted, with one juror later saying the ballistics "match" didn't seem convincing. Other lawyers have followed Griffin's lead. At the hearing in Baltimore, defense attorney Carroll McCabe grilled firearms examiner Karen Lipski about how she had linked two sets of spent casings—one from an incident in which McCabe's client pleaded guilty to firing a gun and the other from a murder scene. In neither case did police recover a gun for firing test bullets.

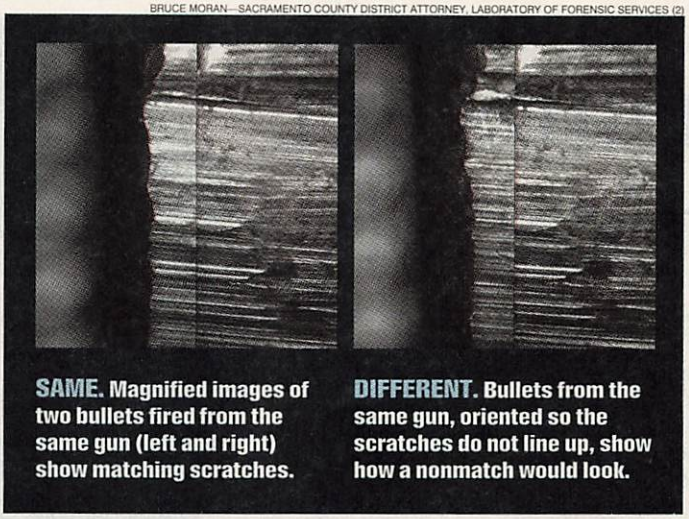
Lipski said her conclusion was based on "a lot of experience and knowing what you're looking at." She took no photos of the marks and, when asked repeatedly to quantify the correlation needed for a match, replied that McCabe should stop focusing on "the number thing."

Scrambling. That type of testimony is all too common, says Bruce Moran, a firearms examiner with the Sacramento County district attorney's office in California. Now that lawyers have started asking hard questions about the technique's scientific validity, says Moran, "we're all basically caught with our pants down, to tell you the truth. We're all scrambling to address these issues."

Moran sees a place to start. Based on studies of spent bullets from many different guns, firearms experts recently proposed a standard criterion for declaring a match, based on a minimum number of consecutive matching lines left by flaws in the gun barrel. Moran and some other experts are pressing for their colleagues to adopt this universal standard and use it in court, backing up all claims with photographs.

But no such criterion exists for cartridge cases. And even for bullets, experts currently can't determine the chances of a random match—standard practice in forensic DNA analysis. When DNA matching emerged in the 1980s, scientists studied DNA in the general population to quantify the chances of a random match. While often very low, the risk is never zero, so the jury is always told the numerical odds.

BRUCE MORAN—SACRAMENTO COUNTY DISTRICT ATTORNEY, LABORATORY OF FORENSIC SERVICES (2)



SAME. Magnified images of two bullets fired from the same gun (left and right) show matching scratches.

DIFFERENT. Bullets from the same gun, oriented so the scratches do not line up, show how a nonmatch would look.

Ballistics could someday have that kind of statistical sophistication, says Benjamin Bachrach of Intelligent Automation, who has federal funding to study the uniqueness of the markings guns leave. His company has developed technology that scans a bullet to render a 3-D profile of all the grooves and marks. A computer can then compare bullet scans and calculate the degree of difference. Bachrach says his preliminary work confirms that guns often do create distinctive marks. "The examination of firearms evidence is not a hoax."

Still, "as with everything in life, there's no yes-or-no answer. There's a statistical answer," Bachrach says. When his computer system compares two bullets and comes to a conclusion, "it's not an opinion; it's a number." ●

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ARCHAEOLOGY

Barbarians get sophisticated

BY ANDREW CURRY

BERLIN—For something so small, the "sky disk" has made quite an impact here. Not even a foot across, the 5-pound bronze disk is embossed in gold leaf with intricate images of the sun, moon, and 32 stars. In the plate's center is a representation of the star cluster Pleiades, which appears in the sky around the autumnal equinox and signaled the arrival of harvest season.

What's most amazing is its age. More than 3,500 years old, the sky disk may well be the most important Bronze Age find in decades. Treasure hunters found it first in 2000 near the eastern German town of Nebra; police in Switzerland had to use an elaborate sting operation to get it safely into the hands of archaeologists. Its recovery was front-page news, and the find inspired headlines like "Culture of the Star Wizards" from the weekly *Der Spiegel*. "It's an absolutely key find—this is the first accurate picture of the cosmos in human history," says Harald Meller, head of the Halle Institute for Archaeological Research, where the object is being studied. "It's astonishing to people that this was found in Central Europe and not Egypt or Mesopotamia."

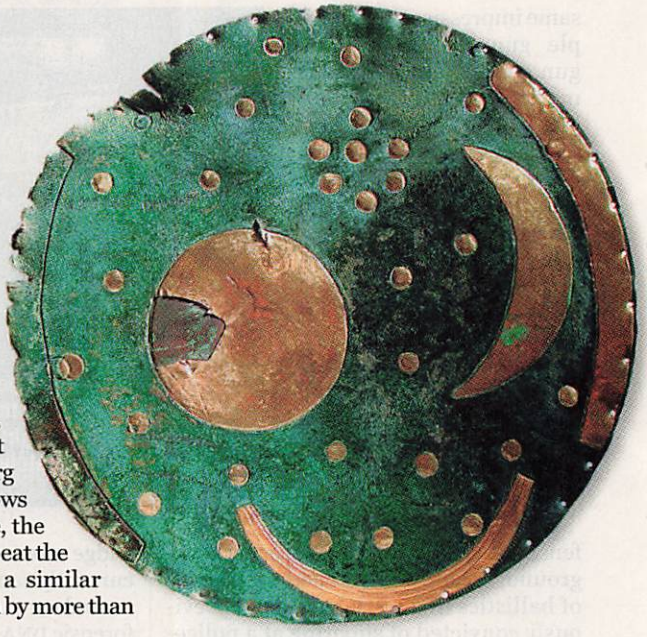
THINKING CAP. The decoration on this gold "hat" may be the earliest solar-lunar conversion calendar.

Nebra's sky disk isn't the only artifact that has people here buzzing. When Berlin's Museum for Pre- and Early History reopens fully next spring, its centerpiece will be an elaborately decorated gold "hat," 29 inches tall and made out of over a pound of thinly beaten gold. Museum director Wilfried Menghin says that the object, dating from around 1000 B.C. and acquired recently from a private collection, was worn by Bronze Age astronomer-priests and that the decorations are actually an extremely complex solar-lunar conversion calendar. Many scholars are skeptical: The artifact is almost unique, they say, and it's impossible to prove the theory conclusively. What's more, while experts suspect it's from the Nuremberg area, no one really knows its origins. But if true, the achievement would beat the Greek discovery of a similar mathematical system by more than five centuries.

Such debates are part of a mini-renaissance in how Central Europe's early cultures are viewed. For centuries, archaeologists and the public have focused on the people of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia as the only ancient societies worth studying—a perception the ancient Greeks and Romans, who considered anything outside their culture contemptible, reinforced in their written histories.

Doing the math. But the sky disk and the gold "hat" are contributing to a dramatic rethinking of the Bronze Age, which lasted from about 2500 B.C. to 1000 B.C. Scholars say these discoveries show that far from being barbarians, Bronze Age Europeans had a sophisticated grasp of mathematics and astronomy. "We're developing a new paradigm in European archaeology now," says Berlin archaeologist Klaus Goldmann. "European civilization goes further back than most of us ever believed."

More important, people are starting to talk about the period again. The Nazi obsession with proving the superiority of early "Germans" made acknowledging the achievements of prehistoric Central Europeans taboo after the end of World War II. Hitler and his henchmen encouraged the abuse of archaeological evidence to claim a glorious prehistoric past—and justify invading their neighbors.



COSMOS. The "sky disk," a 3,600-year-old bronze plate embossed in gold leaf, depicts the star cluster Pleiades at its center.

When the war ended, "there was almost an allergic reaction to the way archaeology had been manipulated between 1933 and 1945," says University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee archaeologist Bettina Arnold. She likens postwar research in the region to "stamp collecting": exhaustive cataloging and description that steered well clear of any politically sensitive interpretations.

In the past decade, German archaeology itself has undergone a sea change. The former East Germany is now open to aerial photography and surveying, which were banned under the Communist regime. Dozens of earth mounds and structures like the one in which the sky disk was found have been discovered, promising to keep archaeologists busy for years to come. And a younger generation of scholars, more willing to risk controversial analyses, has emerged. Says Menghin, whose theory on the gold "hat" may be the riskiest yet: "We have to go forward again to show Middle Europe wasn't as barbaric as people think." ●

USN&WR

FROM LEFT: JURAJ LIPTAK—STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY SAXONY-ANHALT; MUSEUM FOR PRE- AND EARLY HISTORY / STATE MUSEUM IN BERLIN, PRUSSIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE, INV. IIC 6068

HISTORY

Colonial fictions

Almost 400 years ago, a dashing, English commander, Capt. John Smith, landed in Jamestown, Va. He was soon pinned to a rock by natives, with clubs raised over his head. Then the beautiful princess Pocahontas threw herself over Smith and saved his life. They lived happily every after. But only in schoolbooks, according to David Price's new history, *Love and Hate in Jamestown: John Smith, Pocahontas and the Heart of a New Nation* (Knopf, $25.95). In reality, while Pocahontas did save Smith, the two were never a romantic item. Instead, Pocahontas was later kidnapped by the colonists and died of an infection in England. Price's well-researched book skillfully weaves together period letters and historical documents into a narrative and is an engaging and detailed account of the many lives that clashed during the founding of Virginia. *–Ulrich Boser*

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY / ART RESOURCE

Myth making: Pocahontas and John Smith weren't this cozy.

BIOLOGY

SOME FISHY NOISES

Herring have gaping mouths, but they may communicate with the other end of their bodies. Biologist Ben Wilson dropped a microphone into a fish tank and heard high-pitched buzzes called fast repetitive ticks. Appropriately enough the technical abbreviation is FRT, for Wilson and his colleagues tracked the sounds to small bubbles erupting from the fish's, um, "anal duct region." They report in a recent *Biology Letters* that fishy flatulence probably comes from the herring's swim bladder, rather than the digestive tract, and it may even serve a purpose. "They need to find each other in the dark to form schools," he says, so the FRTs might be a way of attracting attention. Hey, it works for 13-year-old boys. *–Thomas Hayden*

JEFFREY L. ROTMAN—PETER ARNOLD INC.

Herring sound off in school.

RELATIONSHIPS

BRAIN TRUST

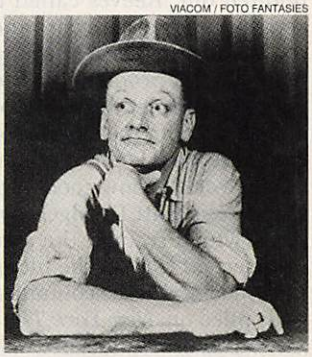
It's a wonder we get along at all. There are brain chemicals that push us to fight. Others induce flight. Now, however, scientists have found that a hormone that promotes lust and trust in animals can do so even among human strangers who are trying to get money from one another. Economist Paul Zak focused on the hormone oxytocin, whose levels rise during pleasurable activities like eating and sex. He and his colleagues paid people $10 to pair up with unseen partners in a computer lab. If they trusted their partner they could fork over some of that $10, via computer, and the gift would be automatically tripled; the partner might give some of the bonus back. Oxytocin levels shot up among those deemed trustworthy, and they did in fact reciprocate. But there was no change in hormones, or behavior, in those who didn't get a signal that they were trusted, the researchers reported last week at the Society for Neuroscience meeting in New Orleans. *–Marianne Szegedy-Maszak*

ART CARNEY

FROM BOTTOM TO TOP

Ever the dopey yet dutiful friend to Ralph Kramden on early TV's *The Honeymooners,* Ed Norton raised the profile of "subterranean sanitation engineers." Art Carney, who played the clueless sewer worker and who died last week at 85, was often immersed in darker undercurrents both onstage and off, but he rose above them. In a *Twilight Zone* episode, Carney played a down-on-his-luck department-store Santa who discovers the magic of the season just as he's hitting rock bottom. The role foreshadowed personal crisis: Carney had a nervous breakdown while playing Felix Ungar in *The Odd Couple.* But the actor ultimately emerged. In 1975, he won an Oscar for the film *Harry and Tonto,* cast as an old man drifting—once again—in and out of society's underside. *–Kent Allen*

VIACOM / FOTO FANTASIES



JOHN LEO

A surprising jog to the right

"WE'RE NOT LOSING" ISN'T MUCH of a battle cry, but an article in the policy magazine *City Journal* with that modest message is attracting a lot of attention. The article, "We're Not Losing the Culture Wars Anymore" by senior editor Brian Anderson, argues that the left's near monopoly in the entertainment and news media is "skidding to a startlingly swift halt."

Much of Anderson's evidence—the rise of Fox News, talk radio, and conservative bloggers—is familiar, but the article argues that a corner has been turned and the culture war is a far more even struggle now. This news may come as a shock to conservatives. It's certainly a shock to Tim Noah, a liberal commentator at *Slate*. Noah read Anderson's article, watched as the Reagan miniseries was pulled, then wrote glumly that the right has won the culture wars.

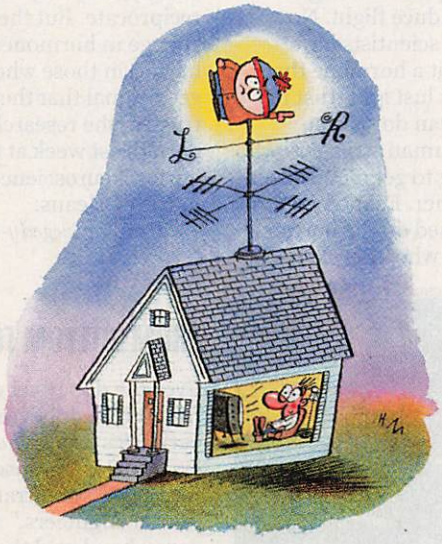
Hardly. The liberal worldview still dominates the news business, the arts, the entertainment world, publishing, the campuses, and all levels of schooling. It's the media and educational status quo. But five years ago, CBS probably could have gotten away with a cheap-shot miniseries on the Reagans. Now it can't. This is partly because of market forces, as conservative columnist Robert Bartley and liberal columnist Richard Reeves both pointed out. Reeves called the miniseries "commercially insane." Large conservative audiences no longer accept many liberal products, so those products are adapted or abandoned. The other reason for the ditching of the Reagan miniseries is that the conservative media world is now good at gang tackling. From Matt Drudge's *Drudge Report* (which framed the issue of the miniseries) to Fox, the bloggers, talk radio hosts, and the columnists, everybody piled on. *New York Times* columnist David Brooks touched on this point some time ago, writing that the new conservative media have "cohered to form a dazzlingly efficient ideology delivery system that swamps liberal efforts to get their ideas out." For liberals, this is an ominous development.

The unfamiliar part of Anderson's article is the rising conservative impact on pop culture. In comedy, it's not just Dennis Miller, the first major comedian fully identified with the right. On cable, conservative humor—or at least, antiliberal humor—pops up all the time. Colin Quinn, like Miller a veteran of *Saturday Night Live*, skewers liberal pieties regularly on Comedy Central's popular *Tough Crowd*. I once asked a thoughtful liberal friend: "Why does the message of the left seem to penetrate the whole of pop culture?" His answer—"We make the culture; you don't"—doesn't seem so obvious now.

New paradigm. The showpiece of antiliberal humor is one that appalls a good many conservatives: *South Park*, Comedy Central's wildly popular cartoon saga of four crude and incredibly foul-mouthed little boys. The show mocks mindless lefty celebrities and takes swipes at the gay lobby and the abortion lobby. Some examples: Getting Gay With Kids is a homosexual choir that descends on the school. And the mother of one South Parker decides she wants to abort him ("It's my body"), despite the fact that he's 8 years old. The weekly disclaimer on the show says it is so offensive "it should not be viewed by anyone." This is a new paradigm in pop culture: Conventional liberalism is the old, rigid establishment. The antiliberals are brash, funny, and cool. Who would have thought?

Some of the new conservative success is due to the rise of a large crop of commentators the left has not been able to match. Mostly young and often very funny, they include Mark Steyn, Jonah Goldberg, Michelle Malkin, and Jeff Jacoby. But most of the conservative gains have been in new media. Fox News's large audience skews young, and half its viewers are either liberal or centrist. So Fox isn't just preaching to the choir. It's exposing nonconservatives to conservative ideas.

"The antiliberals are brash... and cool. Who would have thought?"



As mentioned here several times, the "blogosphere"—the world of Internet commentators—tilts strongly to the right. Bloggers like Andrew Sullivan, Mickey Kaus, and Glenn Reynolds of *InstaPundit* have a heavy impact. No excess of the liberal media seems to escape their attention. Among other things, they have mercilessly attacked Paul Krugman, the *New York Times* columnist and idol of America's angriest liberals. It has been an amazing and, I think, largely successful campaign of informed detraction.

It was obvious that the democratization of the media would bring new voices into the field, but who knew that so many of those voices would be conservative, libertarian, or just cantankerously opposed to entrenched liberal doctrine? The conservative side is far from winning the culture wars, but the debate is broader and fairer now. The near monopoly is over. ●

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URGE TO MERGE

It's wedding season in the digital world, uniting gadgets that do—and don't—belong together

BY DAVID LAGESSE

Years of juggling a cellphone and a hand-held computer finally got to Jeffrey Kaplan. He sprang for a new, $500 Kyocera "smartphone" that weds the two and reduced the lumps in his jacket pocket by one. "More important," says the 37-year-old Bostonian, "when used as a [computer], it works, and when used as a phone, it works."

After years of hype, "convergence"—the marriage of multiple gadgets into one—is finally succeeding. Just a couple of years ago, combo cellphones and computers felt like bricks, all-in-one printers that could fax, copy, and scan were pricey and temperamental, and combination DVD/VCR players couldn't be had at any price. Now capable, reliable converged devices crowd store shelves—and the pages of this year's *U.S. News* Tech Guide.

Many do a good job of marrying gadgets with obviously similar functions, like DVDs and VCRs. Others make successful matches of unlikely partners, such as cameras and cellphones. Some combos, however, overwhelm users with too many functions, or, perhaps worse, incompatible ones—recalling past flops like efforts to put intensely interactive Web surfing on TV in the living room, where we'd rather just veg, thank you.

Digital technology invites such unions because these days, images, sounds, and computer data are all the same thing at heart: the ones and zeroes of computer speak. So why not merge the devices that handle them? Thanks to faster chips and roomier hard drives, it's easier to cram many functions into a single gadget. And the idea has obvious appeal. Says Gerry Purdy, whose firm, MobileTrax, follows hand-held devices: "Everybody would rather carry fewer devices than more."

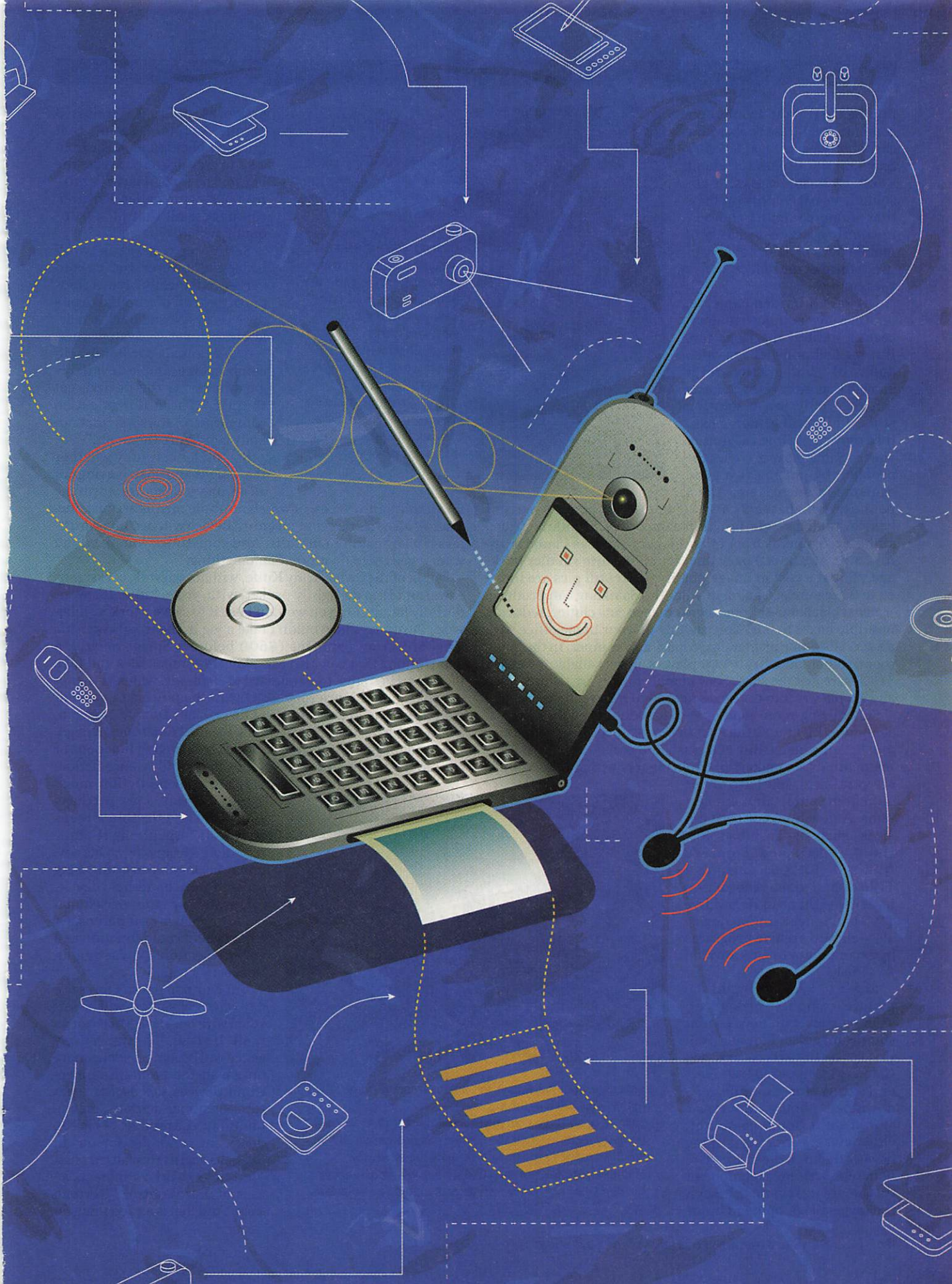
Especially people on the go, like Boston's Kaplan or David Yukio Uyeno, a Sacramento doctor. Both were enticed by the svelte new computer/cell combos hitting the market this fall. Besides freeing up space in pockets, smartphones do things that the separate components couldn't—for example, allowing users to dial phone

ACTION AND STILLS

A digital camcorder and still camera combo that does justice to both, the Samsung SC-D5000 DuoCam ($1,400) takes decent digital video and 4-megapixel stills, big enough for 11-by-13-inch enlargements. It's bulky—nearly the size of a milk carton—but changes function smoothly when you flip its two lenses. One trade-off: The still camera takes longer than most to save each photo.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JEFFREY MACMILLAN FOR *USN&WR*

ILLUSTRATION BY STEVEN LYONS FOR *USN&WR*



numbers straight from their computer's address book. Many carry hefty price tags; Uyeno's Samsung i500 lists for about $600. Even so, he says, "I absolutely love it." Purdy predicts that phone/computer combos, now only a percent or two of mobile devices sold, could capture a third of the market in five years or so.

Digital still/video cameras, another big combo category, seem a natural marriage too. But the technologies for video and still photography differ enough that most video cameras can take only low-resolution stills, while still cameras capture only short, low-resolution videos. Samsung overcomes the problem by putting two good cameras in one casing. At 1.5 pounds, though, the $1,400 SC-D5000 is about 50 percent heavier than a single-function camcorder. Similarly priced still/video cameras from other makers (such as Canon's Optura 300, at $1,300) pack dual functions into smaller packages, but at a cost in image quality; their still pics are limited to 2 megapixels, just half what the Samsung can produce.

Housecleaning. At home, convergence cuts clutter, reducing multiple boxes to one. You can tidy up your home office with a $200 all-in-one printer, fax, copier, and scanner. In the living room, combination DVD/VCR players, now available for under $150, were just the start. Now manufacturers are stuffing DVD and CD players into the boxes needed to receive digital cable.

Other living-room combos steal functions from the personal computer. Right now the PC is the repository of digital photos, music, and videos. But PCs crash and come with fat, daunting manuals, so makers of traditional consumer electronics are grafting PC-like hard drives onto home entertainment systems. A new breed of DVD devices, such as Toshiba's SD-H400 ($550) and Pioneer's DVR-810 ($1,200), include a TiVo digital video recorder—a hard drive that can record live TV. The Pioneer combo device also lets you archive programs by saving them to a removable DVD disk.

Eager to keep the PC in the picture, computer makers are striking back with devices that shuttle images and sounds from the PC to the stereo and TV. Gateway's Connected DVD Player ($200), for example, can download photos and music stored on a home computer. Other makers offer networking devices that link the office PC to home entertainment equipment in the living room. Linksys, the biggest U.S. name in home networks, offers a Wireless-B Media Adapter ($200) that transfers photos and music from a PC to a TV or stereo across the house. The MediaPlayer ($250), from a startup called Prismiq, can handle all that plus DVD-quality video.

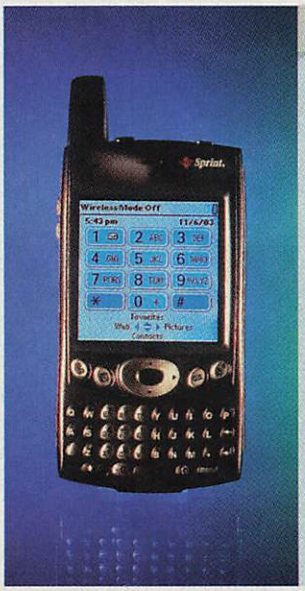
Setting up a home network isn't easy, however. In fact, convergence typically breeds complexity even if it's limited to one device, says Neena Buck, a market researcher at Strategy Analytics. Manuals for hand-held combos, for example, invariably get thicker as the devices get thinner. "These things get so complicated," she says, "that nobody can figure them out."

So ponder carefully whether the weight and space savings of all-in-one gadgets are worth the inevitable annoyances, of which multiple menus are just one. There's also the risk that an entire device will become worthless if a key component fails. And sometimes you just don't want a gadget to do more than one thing.

Think of the Swiss Army Knife, with its scissors, corkscrew, saws, and files all tightly packed with, yes, a knife. It's wonderfully handy, but you wouldn't use it to carve a turkey. Likewise, Purdy says he wouldn't take a jog in the woods with his Treo 600 from palmOne ($600 before a Sprint rebate), a smartphone that can also can play MP3 music files and take pictures. He'd stick to a standard MP3 player, which is cheaper, lighter, and more rugged."One of the powers of specialized devices is in their physical form," says Donald Norman, a design expert whose newest book is called *Emotional Design*. Gear that physically morphs to adjust to changing functions or conditions may be the answer—but that's still science fiction.

It may not be fiction much longer. Already, a few products sport thin and flexible screens based on "organic light-emitting-diode" technology. One day, it may be possible to unfurl a big screen from a hand-held device, for watching the occasional video or showing off photos. Or a hand-held could function as a tiny projection TV, casting an image on a wall.

But Norman doesn't foresee a day when consumers will be satisfied with one device that can do it all. Instead, he says, convergence will become just one more option in the plethora of electronic devices, just as more-mature consumer markets include multipurpose products—bleach, detergent, and deodorizer in one!—as well as specialized ones. "Consumers will have more choices, and more control," Norman says. "And that is a good thing." ●



FOUR IN HAND

A fine handheld computer and cellphone in one, palmOne's Treo 600 ($600 before a Sprint rebate) is little bigger than a standard phone. It cleverly merges the two functions; tapping an entry in the address book dials the number. The tiny keyboard works surprisingly well, and guess what? You also get a camera and an MP3 player. Convenience has a steep price—about twice the cost of the phone and computer separately.

AN ENTERTAINMENT CHANNEL

Ship digital photos, music, and videos from the home office to the living room by linking your personal computer to your TV and stereo with the Prismiq MediaPlayer ($250). It comes ready for a wired network; add another $60 for a wireless card to send images through the ether. The MediaPlayer can even send DVD-quality videos wirelessly, but don't expect them to penetrate more than a wall or two.

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GADGET GALLERY

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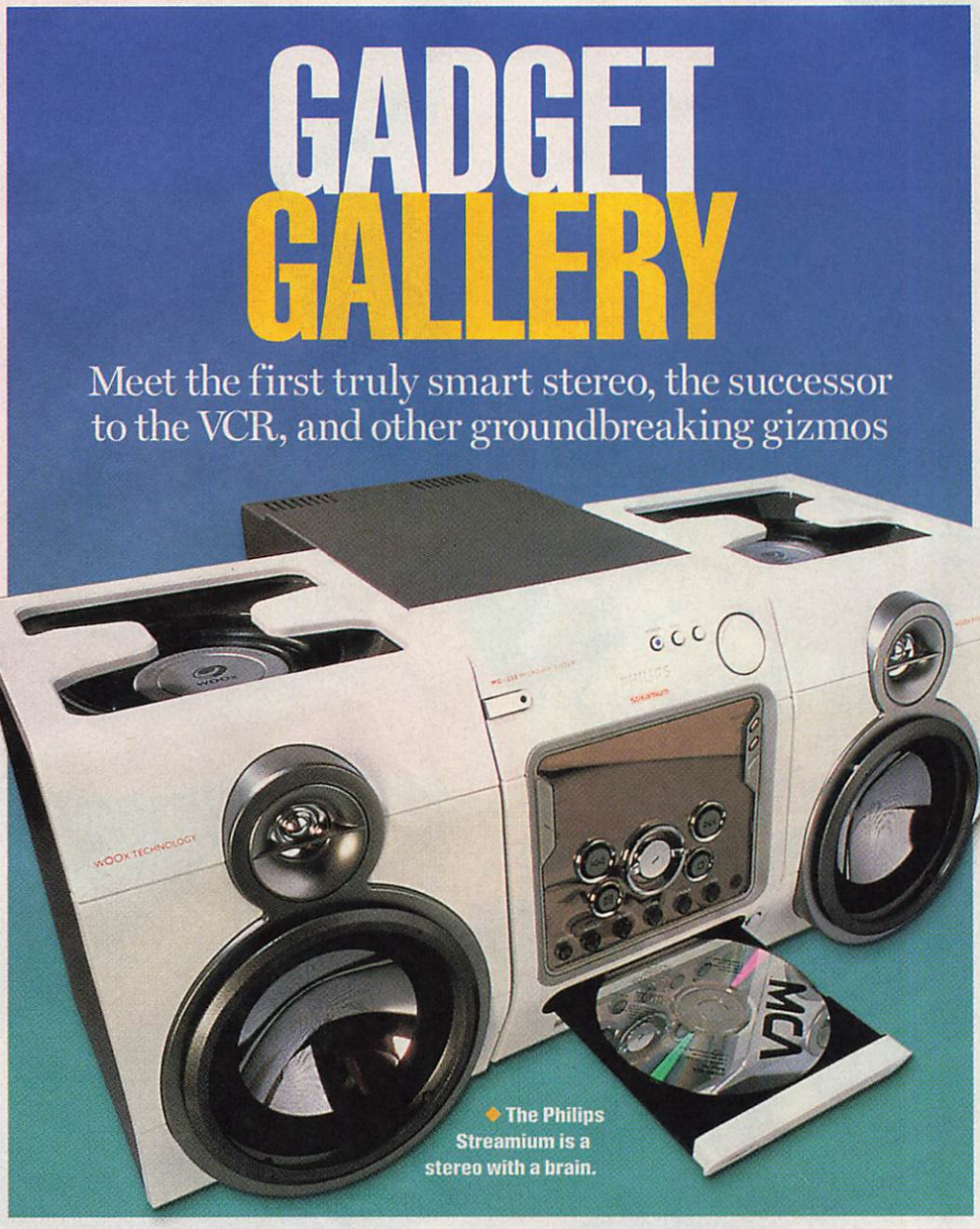

◆ The Philips Streamium is a stereo with a brain.

AUDIO & VIDEO

Dreamin' of a Streamium

After years of sulking in silence while the PC—pumped up by the Internet and MP3s—became a favored household music gadget, the stereo strikes back. By adding computerlike smarts and a WiFi Internet connection to boom-box sound, the **Philips Streamium MC-i250** *($500)* finds a new groove.

UPSIDE Using its PC Link feature, the Streamium can play music MP3s on any computer within its wireless network. The MC-i250 can also go online to Web sites including Live365.com, MP3.com, and Launch to play about 100 channels of streaming audio. Or pop in any CD, and the Streamium automatically heads online to the Gracenote database service to download the artist and song titles. This info is displayed on the bright, easy-to-read display. The patented wOOx sound system, which adds a woofer to the top of each speaker, gives the Streamium a much richer boom than you typically find in a minisystem.

DOWNSIDE Setting up the Streamium is probably as easy as any manufacturer could make it—the radio does most of the driving on its own: contacting the network, downloading, and installing updates to its software. But there is one catch: You need to be familiar with WiFi networking. If you've already got a WiFi network in your home, you probably know enough to get the Streamium working. Neither the manual nor the tech support line can offer much guidance for troubleshooting. The MC-i250 also uses MusicMatch software—not the more common Windows Media or Real Audio—for its streaming features, seriously limiting Internet radio options.

BOTTOM LINE Though setting up the Streamium can be a challenge for nontechies, this stereo nevertheless proves that you don't have to be a geek to get a kick out of WiFi home networking.
–Kenneth Terrell

◆ Buh-bye VCR, hello digital video recorder. Pioneer's DVR preserves TV shows digitally or on DVD.

Be the boss of your TV

The heir apparent to the VCR has arrived. The **Pioneer DVR-810H** *($1,200)* is a digital video recorder that can hold up to 80 hours of television shows on its hard drive, using TiVo technology (that's the TV recording system that has won a cult of fans). But Pioneer goes a step further, adding a DVD burner to the mix. Just push a few buttons to save *The Sopranos* for posterity.

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JEFFREY MACMILLAN FOR *USN&WR*

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◆ **The Virgin Pulse TV/DVD, built for television shows and DVDs, is a matchup made in heaven.**

UPSIDE TiVo's menus make the DVR simple to use. And the DVD burning isn't just for TV shows. Attach a VCR or camcorder to the extra input ports and you can save existing tapes to longer-lasting DVDs. For another $100, add-on software enables the TiVo half to pull digital photos and music from your PC across a home network to enjoy in the living room.

DOWNSIDE The hefty price tag only gets lifetime "basic" TiVo service, e.g. just three days of show listings; getting a full 14 days of listings and other services, such as automatically recording every episode in a show's season, costs another $13 a month. Use-once DVDs still cost about $1 each and hold only an hour's worth of TV at high quality; rewritable disks are available but less compatible with set-top players if you want to use your disks elsewhere.

BOTTOM LINE Wait a year if the price tag is too steep. But don't wait long—you'll want to leave behind the complexities of VCRs and the hassle of rewinding tapes. *–David LaGesse*

TV + DVD = happy couple

The British are coming again—to your living room. Richard Branson, founder of the hip Virgin record label and the even hipper Virgin Atlantic Airways, has just introduced the hippest line of consumer electronics yet—Pulse. The **Virgin Pulse TV/DVD** combo *($500)* is its premium product and looks to be the best TV/DVD blend on the market.

UPSIDE The 10-inch TV and DVD player has color rich enough to make even a disk of familiar Looney Tunes cartoons seem fresh and also plays compact disks (prerecorded, PC-recorded, and those that have MP3 files recorded on them). There's also an AM/FM tuner. And the speakers sound good enough that you'll actually want to listen to music on them. An extra $50 gets you a harness to hang the TV/DVD player on the backside of a car seat: perfect for road trips (a car power adapter comes with the TV).

DOWNSIDE As versatile as it is, the Pulse TV/DVD is a touch unwieldy, a little too big to be truly portable yet not big enough to serve as a primary TV. Other manufacturers offer LCD TVs with better picture quality, including Sharp's fine AQUOS line. Sold exclusively at Target and Virgin Megastores, the Pulse line could be hard to find outside metropolitan areas, although mail-order is available.

BOTTOM LINE Ever tuned in to the beat of the younger generations, Branson has produced the perfect gadget for space-strapped college students, recent grads, and pampered 'tweens. *–K.T.*

◆ **The lightweight Pentax Optio S4 can zoom like a pro.**

DIGITAL IMAGING

A big hand for a little camera

Nearly the same size as a deck of cards, the **Pentax Optio S4** *($400)* delivers sharp, 4-megapixel images—near the top of what you can get in nonprofessional digital cameras.

UPSIDE Pentax managed to squeeze in many high-quality features usually reserved for chunkier equipment, notably the 3x zoom lens. Many other digital cameras rely on software to do the magnification on close-ups, but that technology doesn't capture the detail you get with a zoom lens on a film camera. The Optio S4 also can capture about 60 seconds of video and attach 30 seconds of audio to a picture. For those who want to amaze the neighbors with digital photography tricks, the camera offers a 3-D picture mode and even comes with glasses.

DOWNSIDE The aluminum casing, while solid enough to protect the camera's innards, scratches easily. And don't forget: You'll have to shell out another $100 for a storage card with enough memory to hold those high-resolution pictures.

BOTTOM LINE Its heavyweight features and lightweight size make it an ideal family camera. *–K.T.*

TOP: BRUCE ALMIGHTY DVD COURTESY UNIVERSAL HOME STUDIOS

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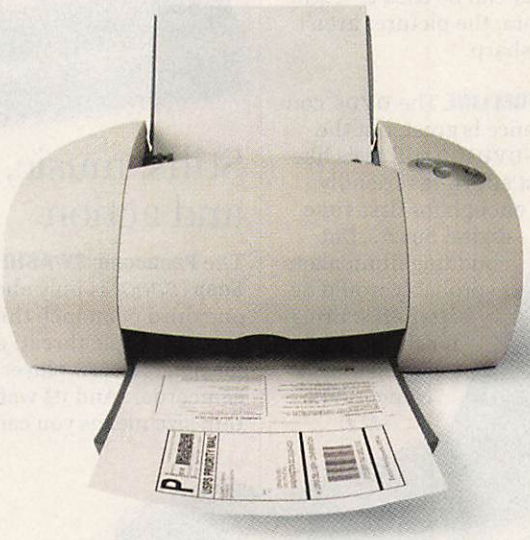

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Take-home home movies

The **Sony DCR-DVD100 Handycam** (*$900*) makes sharing home movies with friends and family easier because it records them on disks that can be played on most DVD devices. No more forcing friends and families to sit through marathon screenings in your home—now you can give them their very own copy of *Deedee's First Dance Recital: The Director's Cut.*

UPSIDE By recording on 3-inch DVD disks, this camcorder creates videos that can be played on more than 100 million devices worldwide, including PCs and video game consoles. Menus with thumbnail images make access to a favorite scene a click away—much easier than fast-forwarding and rewinding tapes. You can do some limited editing—erasing dull scenes and rearranging the order of others—directly on the DCR-DVD100.

DOWNSIDE The disks aren't as widely available as digital videocassettes or the standard, larger writable DVD disks that you use for your home-theater machine or computer. Be ready to order online. Though the camcorder can be used as a still camera, the pictures aren't that sharp.

BOTTOM LINE The DVDs' convenience is great, but the DCR-DVD100 still feels like a first effort. It's friendly enough for first-time digital buyers, but budding filmmakers probably would be better off waiting for the next generation of DVD camcorders. *–K.T.*

◆ **Imagine the look on your friends' faces when you give them a home movie DVD, courtesy of the Sony DCR-DVD100 Handycam.**

◆ **It's a camera, a camcorder, and an MP3 player: the Panasonic D-Snap**

Stills, music, and action

The **Panasonic SV-AS10 D-Snap** (*$300*) is only about one third of an inch thick, but it's a triple threat: digital camera, MP3 player, and camcorder. And its wafer-thin size means you can stick it in your pocket and still have enough room to pack a PowerBar.

UPSIDE The D-Snap's manufacturer has found a way to store video comparable to what you see when you watch things over the Internet on postage-stamp-size memory cards, a format that eliminates the need for chunky moving parts. With a built-in flash, 4x optical zoom, and timer, it also makes a respectable digital camera, clicking away 2 megapixel-quality images that are clear enough to E-mail to friends but not so good that you'd want to frame the printout. The D-Snap has an audio component, too. So if you're recording your child feeding the ducks and he happens to utter his first word, you'll capture the sounds as well as the sight.

DOWNSIDE The largest memory cards cost $140, and you'll need several to get you through a daylong event: Each card stores about an hour of video, not including space for still pictures or MP3 tunes. The D-Snap serves best as a camera, a bit of a disappointment as you'll mostly want to use it as a camcorder. (Once the camcorder starts rolling, you won't want to stop it.) Moving through the gadget's menus takes some getting used to: You have to glide your thumb over its touch-sensitive controller rather than pushing a button for the option you want.

BOTTOM LINE While it is by no measure a full-service MP3 player, digital camera, or camcorder, the D-Snap could be the perfect toy to take on your next road trip. *–K.T.*

Haverhills' Best Sellers*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

VistaPix - a Binocular and Digital Camera all-in-one!

Vista Pix™ only $79.95*

The VistaPix series of digital binoculars consists of a high quality integrated binocular and a state-of-the-art digital camera in one compact, easy-to-use unit. VistaPix comes complete with everything you need to see and store images, and view them on your personal computer or laptop. The VistaPix binocular and digital camera is great for sporting events, concerts and wildlife activities such as hunting or bird-watching. VistaPix lets you record memories and sights at the touch of a button. Use the full-featured binocular for closer views and capture images to take home with you at the same time. With VistaPix you get optical excellence through careful consideration of quality in the glass and lens coatings used, precision manufacturing processes, and uncompromising quality control. The VistaPix will take up to two minutes of continuous video and will save single images as a JPG file and video captures as AVI file. VistaPix comes with Photo Manager Software that allows you to transfer images or video onto your computer for viewing, editing and printing. E-mail pictures to your friends and family. VistaPix also has an LCD screen that displays the mode and numbers of photographs. VistaPix has automatic white balance for color correction in different lighting conditions and an automatic (90 seconds) shut off mode to extend the battery life. Makes a great gift - Everyone needs VistaPix to capture the important moments in life, save them, and send them on! ***Vista Pix™*** **#1051V1007a**

More than just a telescope... more than just a microscope...

Episcope™

(the complete vest-pocket optical system)

still only $59.95*

•Even at its highest magnification of 30x, the Episcope™ resolves as distinctly as any laboratory microscope, yet it is only 2" long. An optical miracle!

Remove the *Episcope™* from its fitted leather case and it's a 30-power microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 3x telescope, or a unique 3x telescope-loupe. Another twist, and you have a choice of magnifiers and loupes: 5x, 10x, and 15x powers. The *Episcope™*, only 2" long, was developed in Wetzlar (Germany), the home of world-famous Leica cameras; it's now being made by one of Asia's finest lens makers. The optics are superb: brilliant luminosity, needle-sharp focus, absolute planarity, total chromatic correction, and fully anastigmatic. The *Episcope™* is the first choice of geologists, biologists, numismatists, philatelists, engineers, and just anybody who likes to see the infinite detail in his/her surroundings. It comes with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x or 30x magnifications. ***Episcope™*** **#1062V1007d**

Now there's a Radio-Controlled Watch that functions as a Stop Watch too!

Radio-Controlled Sport Watch™ only $49.95*

This attractive sportsman's digital watch displays hour, minutes, seconds, day of the week, date, year, and with the press of a button is a fully operational stop watch featuring start and finish, accumulated elapsed time, split time measurement, and measurement between two competitors all to the nearest 1/100 of a second. Did we mention this watch sets itself! The *Radio-Controlled Sport Watch* tunes itself into the signal transmitted from American Atomic Clock on a daily basis. Now you always have the absolute correct time anywhere in the United States. Press a button again for the electronic backlight function and set the alarm to ring at any time or interval. The *RCSW* is equipped with a chronograph, a 12/24 hour format, a calendar range through the year 2049 and the day of the week is calculated upon setting of the watch. The *RCSW* has a sleek black rubberized athletic band with silver watch face. It is water-resistant and fits snug to your wrist allowing you to be as active as you would like while staying in one place—i.e. no slipping on your wrist even when wet! What a great gift for the serious athlete or weekend enthusiast. ***Radio-Controlled Sport Watch*** **#1036V1007b**

Never let a dead car battery stall you again, use...

Car Starter IV™ only $49.95*

The new and improved *Car Starter IV* is a portable power source that will charge your car battery to working power fast and easily, even in extreme hot/cold temperatures, just by plugging it into your cigarette lighter. LED lights indicate when your battery is fully charged. After use, you can recharge the unit again, right through that same cigarette lighter or thru an AC Adapter right in your own home. The new and improved version has a Lead Acid battery inside, just like your car battery, versus the old Alkaline battery in earlier models. *Car Starter IV* has a patented turbo circuit able to recharge (23-24V) car batteries even if that battery might be aging. The *Car Starter IV* will remain charged for six months without use and can be recharged over 200 times. *Car Starter IV* is Easy, Safe and Convenient when charging a car battery. No need to use Alligator clips and black/red cable wire connection to the car battery. It avoids misconnections and is a secure means of charging your battery. *Car Starter IV* has important, unique features, such as automatic circuit protection for over voltage, under voltage, over current or under current to protect the Lead Acid battery inside. The *Car Starter IV* can also be used as a 12-volt emergency power source. In an emergency situation, this unit is capable of powering most 12-volt appliances equipped with a center pin positive cigarette lighter socket such as small TV sets, portable refrigerators, cellular phones, camcorders and much more. Keep it in the glove compartment of your car. Never worry about a dead battery and the safety of your loved ones ever again! **Car Starter IV™ #1037V1007e**

Rid your home of varmints and pests, with...

Rodelsonix IX™ only $69.95*

•Rodelsonix IX™ is an industrial-type unit, the most powerful you can get. It's a humane and effective system!

Mice, rats, roaches, bats, fleas, spiders and other pests make life miserable at home or at the plant. Old-fashioned poisons get rid of them—but only temporarily, and they are a hazard to you and to your pets. *Rodelsonix IX™* works on a different principle: It delivers a tremendous blast of ultrasound—inaudible to you and your pets—that disrupts the nervous systems of those pests. No poison and no mess. *Rodelsonix IX™* is an industrial-type unit designed and engineered to be effective in restaurants, factories, and food-processing plants. It protects up to 10,000 sq. ft. (70,000 cu. ft.). It has six variable pitch and "loudness" settings. You can even adjust it to keep larger pests, such as raccoons or rabbits, at bay. ***Rodelsonix IX™*** **#1007V1007c**

Here is a lightweight, powerful, and convenient hand-held torch...

Handtorch™ for just $39.95*

The Bi-Pin Bulb Handtorch is new technology that provides you with ultra bright LED light in either single or tri-bulb flood effect and, if you choose, a third option of "focus control" (Bi-pin bulb). The "water resistant" Handtorch provides the extensive lifetime of an LED light and has a lightweight aluminum and rubber body. The hand carrying strap and nylon carrying case make it easy to hang on to or strap to your belt. Here in one small hand-held light is what we will send you:

- 3 5mm white LEDs • 3v 0.2A bi-pin bulb
- LED Bulb Life: 100,000 hours
- 3 x 1.5V "AAA" size batteries (included)
- 1 pc spare bi-pin bulb (included) • Nylon bag

This light is ready to go the minute it hits your home. It's a must for camping trips, living in heavily wooded areas, or as an all-purpose flashlight for indoor use. Small enough to leave in the glove compartment of your car yet super powerful for use in an emergency road situation providing great lighting for tire changing and under-the-hood visibility. Don't leave home without it. ***Handtorch™*** **Item #1105V1007f**

*Our "special deal": **BUY ANY 2 ITEMS AND GET ANOTHER ONE FREE!**
For instance: Buy a $69.95 item and a $49.95 item and get another $49.95 or lesser-priced item FREE!

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PHONES

Honey, I know it's not for me

Caller ID is great for screening calls, but you still have to run across the room just to see that someone's calling whom you'd rather not talk to. By letting you add custom rings to signal the caller (along with digital pictures for the fun of it), the **VTech i5801** cordless phone and i5881 base *($240)* takes most of the unknown out of answering the phone.

UPSIDE The i5801's chief innovation is the addition of a colorful, backlit LCD screen on the handset, comparable to what you find on many new cellphones. By plugging the i5801 into your PC, you can download digital pictures and assign an image to the numbers you have programmed into the phone. The result is that whenever your brother calls from St. Louis, the phone displays a photo of him by the Gateway Arch. You also download and assign your favorite songs to your favorite relatives—you know, like the screeching strings of the *Psycho* shower scene for your in-laws.

DOWNSIDE The handset and the base are sold separately. While the combined price isn't unreasonable for a 5.8-gigahertz phone loaded with features, getting it all in one box would be more convenient. And, while downloading pictures from the PC isn't too difficult, a smart card slot built into the handset would spare the hassle of plugging into a computer.

BOTTOM LINE This cordless set rings true. *–K.T.*

◆ **The VTech i5801 cordless phone can show you a face to go with the caller.**

E.T., phone home, send pix

In the past few months, a blitz of TV ads has shown happy people sending little pictures through the digital ether with a couple of presses of a cellphone button. The **Sanyo SCP-8100 and Samsung a620** *($225 to $300)*, with service activation and subsidy from Sprint PCS, each sport a tiny lens, ready to snap and transmit.

UPSIDE Once the novelty of taking party pictures and adding mug shots to your phone's address book wears off, you'll begin to appreciate the genuine usefulness of the picture phone, from sending your insurance agent evidence of an auto accident to getting your sister's opinion on your holiday party dress. The Samsung also lets you take a self-portrait, so you can share your mug with those you love.

DOWNSIDE We're not talking Ansel Adams. Test pictures tended to be grainy, blurry, or washed out. And the pictures don't even reside in the phone's memory; you have to sign on to your service provider's data network and use up airtime transmitting them to a Web site—one reason mobile service providers are delighted to sell this revenue-enhancing feature.

BOTTOM LINE Sure, these cute phones carry gadget cachet. But $300 will also buy you a quality digital camera.
–Janet Rae-Dupree

◆ **Say cheese and press send: cellphones with cameras from Samsung and Sanyo**

HAND-HELDS

You'll never get lost (or be late)

The **Garmin iQue 3600** *($590)* is one cool combo device. The Palm hand-held computer does a top-notch job of handling contacts and schedules; it also helps you navigate. A sleek antenna flips up to communicate with the Global Positioning System.

UPSIDE The GPS functions integrate nicely with the Palm—tap a name in the address book with the Palm's stylus to get driving directions from your current location. Comes with detailed maps for most U.S. cities that are easy to read on the 2-by-3-inch, high-resolution screen. A pleasant woman's voice reads the directions aloud. The device's Palm OS 5 can also play MP3 files and record voice messages.

DOWNSIDE GPS functions run down the batteries in mere hours, instead of the days that most Palms will endure. Because the built-in speaker isn't that powerful, road noise can drown out the driving directions. The 32 megabytes of internal memory hold only a few cities' worth of maps; a $30 add-on card triples the memory.

BOTTOM LINE The best GPS device for the money, and a darn good Palm, though you'll want to add $80 for a Garmin car kit with a better speaker and battery charger.
–D.L.

◆ **The Garmin iQue is a personal digital assistant that knows its way around a street map.**

Get low cost color without raising the cost of your black & white.

Color gets ideas noticed. What gets in the way of that is cost. But now you can move your ideas forward in color with the new Aficio® 1232 Multi-Function Printer. This MFP prints 10 ppm low cost color. And best of all, 32 ppm low cost black and white. So, you only pay for color when you need it. As for the cost of the 1232 itself? Just slightly more than a b/w MFP. All this leaves you with just one more question: How well do you share?

Aficio® 1232

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KIDS' STUFF

Easy rider at 9 miles per hour

The pedalless **Razor Electric Punk** bicycle/scooter (*$180*) packs plenty of zip into 27 pounds of steel and lead-acid, rechargeable battery. Kids ages 7 and up (but under 120 pounds) can push off to walking speed, pull a little red handlebar switch, and then zoom past their buddies at up to 9 miles per hour.

UPSIDE It's fast enough to thrill the kids but tame enough to ease parents' anxieties about letting youngsters play with a minimotorcycle.

DOWNSIDE First of all, is pedaling or scootering really that hard? Besides, our neighborhood testers only got about 30 minutes of continuous riding on a six-hour charge. They also complained of stiff steering and gutless uphill performance. A "stunt saddle" seat invites fancy riding, so safety gear is recommended (but the stubby bike frame keeps riders from falling too far).

BOTTOM LINE This is one way-cool toy. People over the 120-pound weight limit had just one question for Razor: Where's the burlier Punk for us? *–J.R.-D.*

◆ **If a scooter, a bike, and a hog collided, you'd end up with a motorized Razor Electric Punk.**

They've got game

A hand-held game player for a preschooler? Some parents cringe at the thought. Others have no qualms about this sort of electronic babysitting—and they're even happier that there's now an educational model. The **LeapFrog Leapster** (*$80*) uses video-game style to teach preschoolers through second graders reading, adding, spelling, and other schoolhouse activities, as they use a stylus and control pad to master the various scholarly pursuits.

UPSIDE You'll be amazed how long—and how quietly!—your otherwise hyperactive youngsters will sit still—and how much they'll love the "rewards" for right answers (for example, chirping cartoon birds that eat the seeds earned while playing). Good luck wresting this toy away when it's time for the other necessities of life—playing outdoors, reading books, and interacting with real, live human beings.

DOWNSIDE Leapster is nearly twice as heavy as and quite a bit bulkier than a Game Boy. And the perky music can grate on parental nerves. But you can turn the sound down or plug in a headset.

BOTTOM LINE With all the long car and plane rides coming up during the holidays, Leapster should be the one gift the kids are allowed to open early. *–J.R.-D.*

◆ **The LeapFrog Leapster is a video-game style educational toy for preschoolers and up.**

Spy kids type top secrets

Static-y walkie-talkie noise can blow the cover of anyone entrusted with a mission, but not with the **Spy Gear Eye-Link Communicators** (*$35*)—a set of silent keyboard transmitters and headset displays. Type a message of up to 22 characters on the QWERTY arm attachment, and it'll appear on the other communicator's LCD display up to 200 feet away.

UPSIDE Instant-message junkies can chat without being tied to a computer—no need to "BRB" (be right back) if the contraption is strapped to your limb. Others can join in so more than two mini-spies can stay in the loop.

DOWNSIDE Baby Bonds beware—opponents' communicators can tap into the messages. You've got to switch broadcast channels to stay secret. Also, 200 feet may seem like a lot, but neighbors down the block may be too far away to play.

BOTTOM LINE Typing a message isn't speedy, but the Eye-Link Communicator's stealth capability is indispensable for a secret agent on the go. *–Vicky Hallett*

◆ **From arm to eye: Send instant messages via Spy Gear Eye-Link Communicators.**

BOTTOM RIGHT: WILD PLANET TOYS

1923WATCH.COM

So rare that only a handful were made in 1923

In 1923, a Swiss watchmaker crafted the most advanced watch of its time. After 80 years, the Steinhausen watch has finally been "reborn," preserving its mastery of technology and classic design. Once only displayed in high priced collections, this rare timepiece from history can now be yours .

Imagine a Swiss watchmaker's shop in Steinhausen, Switzerland circa 1923. A master watchmaker is huddled over his sturdy wooden table, the tools of his trade neatly arranged to either side. For countless hours, the craftsman dedicates himself to his trade. He creates the perfect watch - the first of its kind to display the date, day, and month, and the only one to designate AM/PM. From such humble beginnings came one of the most sought after watches in the world - now recreated.

Rarest of Rare

With only a handful of these distinctive handmade timepieces in circulation, this exquisite wristwatch could only be found in the collections of the world's most distinguished gentry. That was, until now. Reborn with the same classic styling and updated with the kinetic automatic movement, this handsome watch has once again become the envy of modern society. In fact, it is estimated an original kinetic timepiece could command a price in upwards of $300,000.

Not Lost in the History Books

Painstakingly reproduced in its original form for you, the Steinhausen is as unique today as it was 80 years ago. Still manufactured by hand and put through two weeks of rigorous testing before delivered to your door, this 21st-century reproduction carries the same graceful styling and sweeping second hand movement as the original. The scratch-resistant glass is made of polished mineral crystal and comfortably rests in a surgical grade stainless steel case and bezel, which provides the ultimate in precision and protection. The ageless ivory face with Roman numerals and brushed stainless steel crowns complete this masterful portrayal of perfection.

Automatic Kinetic Movement

Developed in the 18th century, automatic movements use kinetic motion wound by the motion of the wearer's arm. On the basis of terrestrial attraction, a rotor turns and transmits energy. The kinetic movement consists of precision crafted gears and has 185 parts, which are assembled entirely by hand. As a result, the Steinhausen **never needs winding or batteries!**

One of the Worlds Most Accurate

The most elite Swiss names in automatic movement allow for an accuracy of +25/-27 sec. per/day. The Steinhausen movement has been fine tuned for a rating of +5/-7 sec., making it one of the most accurate in the world. The testing for flaws and accuracy is so strenuous that only 6% of movements made ever end up in a Steinhausen.

To prevent wear on gears, fine watches use tiny gemstones to reduce friction. A number of the world's most elite watches consists of upward of 20 jewels and cost thousands of dollars. Steinhausen watches contain up to 35 jewels.

THE STEINHAUSEN REBORN

Old world craftsmanship & new world technology

- Transparent rear crystal displays movement.
- Kinetic movement – requires no battery or manual winding.

- 185 precision parts assembled by hand.
- Interchangeable 8.25" leather black or brown bands.
- Mahogany Storage Case.
- Polished stainless steel construction.
- Water resistant to 50 meters.

Kinetic movement...never needs batteries... never needs winding!

Adapted from Swiss Technology

A Swiss engineered movement comparable to the Steinhausen has never been produced at this low price. By combining the hand made craftsmanship of the Steinhausen with the latest watch making technologies, this masterpiece is now within your reach.

Today, some 80 years after its creation, you can once again enjoy a replica of the Steinhausen masterpiece reborn in its original glory. Each watch comes housed in a mahogany storage case and includes two interchangeable leather wristbands in black and brown.

Special "Risk Free" Direct Offer

For a limited time we are offering the Steinhausen watch for 4 equal payments of **only** $49.75 plus s&h. If you're not completely satisfied, send the Steinhausen watch back within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price. You risk absolutely nothing.

THE STEINHAUSEN CLASSIC

4 Easy Payments of ~~$74.75~~ $49.75 + S&H

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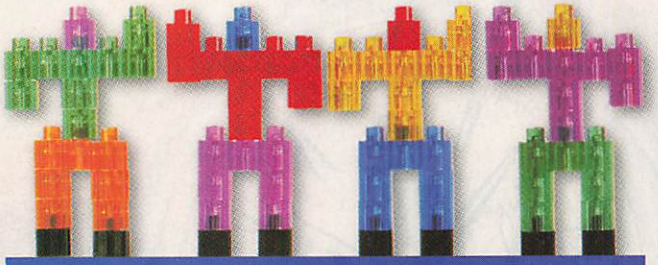

STOCKING STUFFERS

From Santa's wired workshop: toy treats and ace accessories

NEW BLOCKS FOR THE KID

Ordinary building block toys are OK for kids who just want to make toy houses, forts, and not-so-aerodynamic cars, but what about those precocious little Picassos who want to create art? **PixelBlocks** *($6-$50, based on size of set)* uses colorful, translucent blocks that can be linked together vertically and horizontally to form colorful mosaics. Send any digital picture to *www.pixelblocks.com,* and the company will give you a printout showing how to make the image out of what they jokingly call "digital stained glass." *–Kenneth Terrell*

BATTERIES INCLUDED

When batteries die, a gadget's day is done, since recharging them is usually an overnight job. **Rayovac's I-C3 15 Minute rechargeable battery system** *($50)* revives flagging batteries in minutes.

The system comes with AA rechargeable batteries for use in digital cameras, MP3 players, and other portable devices. It also juices up other types of rechargeable batteries. *–K.T.*

IT'S IN THE BAG

If you're losing track of the power cords and accessories that go with all your gadgets, **RoadWired's Pod** *($50)* and **Podzilla** *($70)* can help you corral them neatly into place. Each durable nylon carrying case features 20 separate pockets, and the bags are reinforced with thick padding to protect digital cameras, camcorders, and other equipment that can't take hard knocks. *–K.T.*

BEAMIT UP, SCOTTY!

You've got a supreme collection of tunes stored on your iPod digital music player, but passing the gadget and headphones around to friends is cumbersome—not to mention uncool. The **irock! Beamit** *($30)* is a palm-size device that plugs into the headphone jack of your iPod (or other portable music device). Set your home stereo or car's FM radio to an unused frequency between 88.1 and 88.7, and you've got iPod radio. For better or worse, the whole world can't tune in: The broadcast radius remains strong up to 10 feet but fades out by 30 feet. *–K.T.*

ADAPTATION

If you're the sort who can't leave home without a PDA, a laptop, a digital camera, and a cellphone, you may also want to pack a 120-watt **ChargeSource Universal AC/DC Power Adapter** *($130).* The 8.5-ounce silver "brick" plugs into a wall outlet or a car cigarette lighter. Comarco makes hundreds of different "PowerTip" converters to ensure compatibility with every rechargeable gadget. But the "PowerTips" are maddeningly easy to lose and difficult to use without a cheat sheet to tell you which tip fits which gadget. And you can only recharge one gadget at a time, unless you spring for a splitter. *–Janet Rae-Dupree*

IT'S A SMALL WARBLE

Give your budding Mouseketeer something to sing about. The **Disney Electronics Handheld Karaoke Player** *($50)* comes with 25 classic Disney tunes built into the microphone and a cartridge slot for adding more selections later—Disney or otherwise. Setting it up is parentproof: Plug color-coded input cords into a TV, snap in four AA batteries, and sing. The lyrics show up on the TV screen. Buttons on the microphone can change tempo, correct off-key notes, transform human crooning into a mousely squeak or a dragonish roar, and provide an automated duet by splitting the singer's voice into two levels of harmony in case mom or dad tire of singing along, too. *–J. R.-D.*

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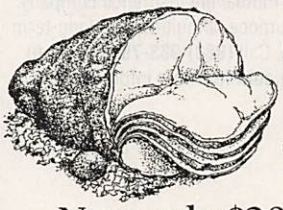

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(Continued from Page 84) conclusions can be drawn from states like New Jersey and Kansas, both of which dramatically increased spending with little to show for it.

"Classes are too big." On the contrary, class sizes have shrunk since 1992, and there has been virtually no corresponding effect on black performance. California spent a fortune reducing class sizes from kindergarten through third grade, with few benefits. Indeed, the state had to hire thousands of additional teachers, putting poor kids into classes with instructors with less skill and experience.

"It's the teachers." No appreciable effect has come from having more certified teachers or more black teachers.

A, B, C. The result of this failure is legions of disconnected youths out of school, out of work, and with little hope for a better future. Why? The Thernstroms point to what they call the "culture" of learning, which they define as students' attitude toward school. The Thernstroms compare blacks with Asians, who approach school with the kind of outlook the two researchers believe is necessary to succeed. Asian students focus on effort rather than innate ability. When they attend inferior schools, they outperform their black and Hispanic classmates. Same teachers, same schools, different results. Being Asian, the Thernstroms found, is a better predictor of academic success than being rich, having an intact family, or just about anything else. Asian parents don't accept anything less than an A-. The corresponding figure for whites is B-; for blacks, C-.

According to the Thernstroms, the issue is family culture and upbringing, usually reinforced by the expectations of friends from similar homes. The predominant influence of family on educational results was the conclusion of James Coleman's 1966 landmark study, "Equality of Educational Opportunity." In a different way, Coleman's findings are supported by a recent book by Betty Hart and Todd R. Risley called *Meaningful Differences in the Everyday Experiences of Young American Children.* Their research revealed that differences in the quantity of language interactions between children and their parents, up to the age of 3, have an enormous impact on learning trajectories.

What can schools do? Instill a "culture of success" in learning. Place a high expectation on learning. Ask for sacrifices by parents and students to meet these expectations. Emphasize a content-rich curriculum taught by carefully selected and trained teachers. Stress traditional values like morals, responsibility, and respect for authority. Impose rules requiring students to dress neatly, arrive on time, pay attention, and avoid fighting and foul language.

The Thernstroms cite a number of schools that have done these things and achieved miracles, no matter what students' home environments were. These are schools that are organized for nonstop learning, in an atmosphere of enforced order, discipline, and civility, with a demanding curriculum and respect for adult authority. This kind of cultural shift can happen only in schools that have the autonomy to construct a radically different kind of approach. So the Thernstroms support charter schools and vouchers.

Then why not impose rigor in our public schools? Their answer is that public schools are hobbled by inflexibility and the inertia imposed by big city and state public-school bureaucracies and by powerful teachers unions. Egalitarian pay scales based on length of service and the inability to dismiss poor teachers, along with the limits on a principal's freedom of action, make it impossible to incentivize better teachers and hire better principals. The Thernstroms support charter schools and vouchers as the best way of escaping this system and expanding school choice outside the control of the public-school bureaucracy. In charter schools that can adopt these new formulas, even if in low-income neighborhoods, the Thernstroms say, black students will perform above the national average, not below.

In the culturally adjusted schools they looked at, which are equally poor and equally black, test scores have improved dramatically, even though they seldom get any more money than the schools that are failing. It's not easy, of course, for a school to teach cultural values along with academic values. Indeed, it's easy to resist the notion that there's something cultural about the underachievement of many students. It was right to resist earlier deterministic notions about biology and innate ability, but to dismiss the Thernstroms is to abandon young black students to measures that have clearly failed—resulting in a tremendous and tragic human and national loss. Getting a decent job depends increasingly on possessing solid skills. So doesn't it follow that helping minority kids acquire such skills is the best way of eliminating racial inequality? We are going to have to think seriously about changing an educational system in much more radical ways than we have attempted to date, in order to make up for what many minority children have not learned from their parents, peer groups, and local communities.

> Charter schools and vouchers offer the best way of escaping a system that has clearly failed.

It won't be easy persuading our political leaders that the solutions that have enjoyed such wide intellectual and public support to date—more money, more integration, and more minority teachers—have now been shown to have so little impact on the quality of education in our schools and its effect on our most needy kids.

Sacred cows have long lives.

The tragedy is that clinging to such failed theories, striking politically correct postures, and pouring out billions of dollars to no effect consigns so many children, particularly those from urban public schools, to a grim economic future, and to a bleak and cheerless life. ●

A hard look at what works

SLAVERY WAS AMERICA'S DEFINING HISTORICAL challenge. Today it is race. There is very good news and very alarming news. Our national objective remains to ensure that blood and group identity do not determine destiny. Today, many white Americans look at how far we have come. Many black Americans look at how far we have to go. Both narratives have validity.

Statistics underline the progress we have made. Sixty years ago, Gunnar Myrdal's classic study *An American Dilemma* reported that only 45 percent of whites believed African-Americans should have the same chance as whites to get any kind of a job. By 1972, 97 percent of whites believed in equal opportunity. In 1963, half the whites questioned told Gallup they would relocate if a black family moved next door. Today, just 1 percent hold that view. If they are lying, it still makes a point. White racial attitudes have clearly evolved. The haters have become a remnant, and the vast bulk of Americans want to see minority communities, especially blacks, succeed.

And succeed they have. A black middle class has grown more rapidly than any other in American history. In 1940, 60 percent of employed black women worked as domestic servants. Six decades later, 60 percent of black women hold white-collar jobs. Black police officers, once rare, are a commonplace in our 50 largest police departments, and black police chiefs or commissioners have been appointed in cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and Detroit.

Exploding myths. But black Americans are right when they say we have much further to go. We still have a majority of black children born out of wedlock. We have an unacceptable crime rate (affecting mainly black communities) and an unacceptable welfare rate. This much is familiar. What is not well known is that blacks are not doing anywhere near as well as they should in education, and every explanation, every remedy, every excuse, if you like, has failed to narrow a significant gap in academic achievement between whites and blacks. In the judgment of the researchers Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom, this is now probably the greatest civil rights issue facing our country. The documentation in the Thernstroms' important new book, *No Excuses: Closing the Racial Gap in Learning,* more than supports this conclusion.

The old libel that blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites was discredited long ago, so we must look to find the real reasons for this terrible disparity. Why do test results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress show black students typically four years behind whites and Asians by the 12th grade? And Hispanics aren't faring much better. But this doesn't mean *all* black and Hispanic youngsters are failing. What it does mean is that many are being allowed to graduate despite their ability to perform only at an eighth-grade level. Indeed, the majority of black 12th graders ranked "below basic" in five of the seven subjects tested, including reading, math, history, and geography. A typical black or Hispanic child enters school behind and stays behind. These dismal results are compounded by the fact that only 30 percent to 35 percent of black students who go on to college graduate within six years.

> It's not money or class size that determines how well kids learn. It's cultural attitudes.

One might be pardoned for thinking that such disparities would have been reduced by all the efforts and money expended over the past 15 years. But the gulf is widening. Why? That's the most important question confronting our society today. The Thernstroms' great service is their trenchant analysis of the conventional wisdom, left and right. Let's look at some of the basics.

"It's a question of poverty." Not so. Within identical income brackets, black students have much lower scores. More stunning is the fact that black students with parents who make $80,000 to $100,000 have lower SAT scores, 934 on average, than white students from families in the $20,000-to-$30,000 income range, who average 992.

"It is the lack of integration." There is no evidence that desegregation has substantially improved achievement. Even in integrated, upper-middle-class suburbs, such as Shaker Heights, near Cleveland, black students do much worse than whites, and few blacks pass proficiency tests with honors.

"It is because of inadequate spending." No, again. On an inflation-adjusted per-capita basis, education spending has doubled in the past 30 years with, at best, meager results. Cambridge, Mass., spends $17,000 per student—twice that of Boston—and the student-teacher ratio is the second lowest in the country. But black students there not only lag behind whites and Asians but scored lower than blacks in nearby communities that spent less than half as much as Cambridge did. Similar *(Continued on Page 83)*

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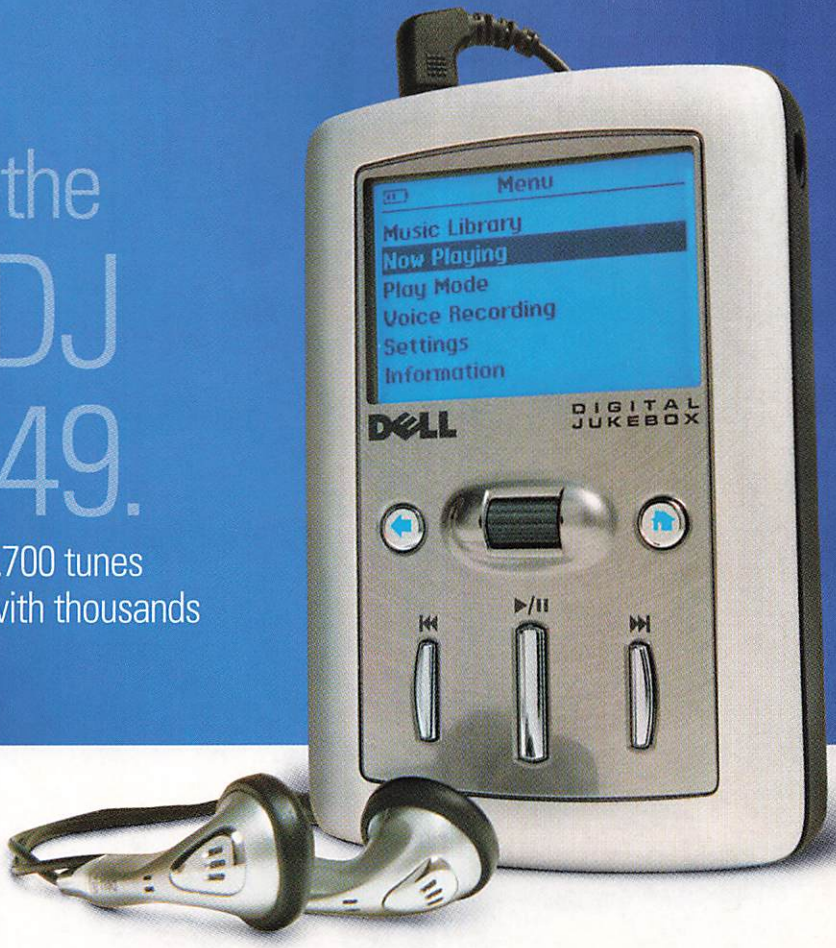

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